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THE  
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TWENTY-FIRST YEAR

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DAVID A. GORTON, M.D.

AND

CHARLES H. WOODMAN

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# National Quarterly Review.

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JANUARY, 1880.

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ART. I.—RISE AND FALL OF THE BONAPARTES.

1. *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Par L. A. THIERS. Paris. 1845-62.
2. *Mémoires ou Souvenirs historiques sur Napoléon.* Par LA DUCHESSE D'ABRANTES. Paris. 1831-34.

THE idea has been rather a general one that, for a powerful and poetic story of kingly achievement—diversified by the lights and shadows of romantic victory and tragic disaster—the lover of such things should go back to earlier times to find it, if not in the scenes

“ Presenting Thebes’ or Pelop’s line,  
Or the tale of Troy divine ”—

at least, in the record of the Merovingians, the Carlovingians, or the Hohenstauffens of the Middle Ages. But, within the lines of the present century and the memory of persons living, may be traced a career of “Arms and the man” as “audible and full of vent” as any other that ever went before; suggesting that the world still holds the arbitrament and game of war in especial honor, and also loves to have its currents, courses and consequences set forth in a vivid and somewhat pictorial manner, for general entertainment or instruction.

The family of the Bonapartes—for the name was contracted from *Buonaparte* when young Napoleon had won his first French distinctions—has been one of the most remarkable in history for the magnitude and variety of events associated

with it. It was first talked of in 1793, when the young Corsican officer of artillery, acting with promptitude for the French Directory against an outbreak of the "Sections," swept the streets of Paris clear of the rioters with a pitiless discharge of grape-shot; and, during the last year, the name produced the latest of its thousand sensations, when the telegraph sent abroad the news that the poor young Prince Imperial had fallen, in an obscure African scuffle and a discreditable cause, by the hands of the brave men of Zululand, fighting for their kraals and cornfields.

The chief of that Corsican family proved his Italian origin. Alfieri once boasted that men grew better in Italy than in any other country, *La pianta uomo nasce piu robusta in Italia che in qualunque altra terra*—and, beyond a doubt, Napoleon Bonaparte had the energy of the Scipios, the Cæsars, the Borgias, the Colons and the Garibaldis; while he always kept the recollection that, in the Middle Ages, his name ranked with the best in Florence, Bologna, Treviso, Parma and Sarzano. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the family was among the first in Corsica, and his father, Carlo Buonaparte, was a gentleman and a lawyer in good repute. He was also a patriot, joining Paoli in an attempt to free the island from the rule of Genoa. About that time, J. J. Rousseau, admiring the bravery of the islanders—which could also fire the fancy of James Boswell, the garrulous friend of Dr. Johnson—hazarded the opinion that Corsica would yet be very memorable in the world; a prediction having special reference to the heroism of its people, and one that, in our day may be considered to have had a rather curious and unlooked for fulfilment.

Carlo Buonaparte and his wife, Maria Lætizia Ramolino, had thirteen children, five of whom died and made no sign, before the death of their father, in 1785; and the other eight—Joseph, Napoleon, Lucien, Louis, Jerome, Eliza, Pauline and Caroline (to write the names in the simplest way)—lived to play their distinguished parts on the stage of the world. Napoleon, born in 1769—about the time Louis XVI had taken Corsica from the Genoese and from republican liberty—led the

*Ver Sacrum* of his family from the troubled ground of Ajaccio to the mainland of France, where, after his schooling at Brienne and in the Military School of Paris (1784), he became lieutenant of artillery in the Royal Regiment of Grenoble. In his leisure moments he wrote a prize-essay on the best means of promoting the happiness of a people—an effort so full of fine thoughts in the manner of Rousseau and other *doctrinaires*, that, after he had become emperor, he grew afraid or ashamed of it; and having got it back, with the astute help of Talleyrand, he put it satisfactorily into the fire.\* He also, about 1787, began a history of Corsica, for Paoli, written in a democratic spirit, and showing, at the same time that if he had been forced to use the pen to get a living, he could have written almost as admirably as he fought. Some of his subsequent army-bulletins are models of military eloquence; and of this he was always very conscious.

But the young soldier soon put literature and democracy aside. He found himself in the midst of a great revolution and resolved to take part in it. One day, in 1792, he saw the Paris mob put a red cap on the head of the king, on one of the palace balconies, and said calmly: "Poor man! it is all over with him. And how easily he might disperse that crowd with a discharge of cannon!" He did not sympathize with the party of Robespierre; but he served the Convention well at the siege of Toulon, in 1793, where his military genius first distinguished itself in the management of artillery. After the fall of Robespierre, on the 9th *Thermidor* (1794), he carried cannons into the streets, brought the insurgent Sections to a condition of terrified order with grape-shot—his panacea in such cases—and saved the government.

Barras, chief of the Directory, and Carnot, "organizer of victory," could see that the Corsican—now general of brigade—

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\* It is rather curious that Napoleon's sometime opponent, the Duke of Wellington, should have acted in the same way, with respect to a perfervid letter he had written, after the Waterloo victory had excited his rather phlegmatic nature. He was afraid it would be "remembered in his epitaph;" and when his secretary, Colonel Gurwood, had succeeded in getting possession of it—at an expense of £500—the Duke thrust it between the bars of the fire-grate, exclaiming, "I was a confounded fool when I wrote that letter!"

was the instrument they were to use. At the age of twenty-six (1796), Napoleon, a recent bridegroom, led the "Army of Italy" through the passes of the Alps; and, from the level ground of Lombardy, sounded the long and interrupted march of that peninsular people to the kingly independence of the present day.\* His rapid and decisive style of manœuvring his small force—not much greater than that at present under the orders of General Wolseley in Southern Africa—perplexed the Austrian generals, accustomed to the old German strategy of the Thirty Years' War; while the impetuous battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, Mondovi, Lodi, Castiglione, Rivoli and Arcola changed the entire political aspect of northern Italy; and the Treaty of Campo Formio, leaving to Austria the sequestered Lagoons of Venice, established two Italian republics—the Cis-Alpine, or Lombard, and the Ligurian—and prepared the way for the Roman republic of 1798 and the republic of Parthenope (1799). This was a grand awakening for Italy, which, like Macbeth, was fated to "sleep no more;" while the sudden renown of the young Corsican rose to the level of Turenne's, Catinat's, or Marlborough's, and far beyond that of Moreau, Massena or Pichegru. France then saw fulfilled the prophecy of the Abbé Sièyes, who had declared that, in her great difficulties, she chiefly needed "a sword and a man." Both had come, and, instead of writing history, the conqueror of Italy began the great work of making it.

With a mind capacious of daring things, he meditated some decisive stroke against England—an old and persistent enemy. He first imagined an invasion of Ireland, then in a partial condition of revolt; and Theobald Wolfe Tone—a man of resolute purpose, like himself—tells us in his Diary that

\* The first wife of Napoleon, Marie-Joseph Tascher, born at Martinique in 1763, married, in 1779, the Viscount Beauharnais, who subsequently tried to divorce her for levity of conduct, but was obliged to grant her a separate maintenance. Some years later, he asked to be reconciled, and they lived together. He was guillotined, in 1794, as a royalist, and Josephine imprisoned for her attempt to effect his escape. She was the friend of Barras, and her house in the Rue Chantierine was much frequented—especially by young General Bonaparte, whom she patronized in the most charming way, and who, it was said, owed his new command to the lady's interest with the Directory.

he had some interviews with the General, who asked him many questions about the Irish people. In one of his replies the Irish rebel was obliged to admit that the Catholic clergy, as a body, were opposed to the proposed rising; and this decided the matter. In the same year Bonaparte hurried with the "Army of England"—as it has been called—down to the Mediterranean, and thence to Egypt. He meant to make of the latter a colony of France—remembering, perhaps, the advice which Leibnitz pressed upon Louis XIV for the same purpose—and a base of operations for a further movement against the English power in Hindostan. His ideas included some others, advocated more recently, and at the present day—such as the idea of a grand canal at Suez, and notably, that of an overland route to the East by way of the Euphrates. But it was, at that period, a wild ambition, with all its boldness, and indicated that vehemence of purpose which was to undo him in the end.\* Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign, with the "Battle of the Pyramids," and his march into Palestine, with its brilliant combat of Mount Tabor, were as romantic as the Italian campaign was heroic. But the ships of England baffled his best ideas. Nelson destroyed Napoleon's fleet in Aboukir Bay, breaking off his communications with France; and, in the end, he was forced—leaving Kleber in Egypt—to return almost alone to Paris, where he had other enemies to grapple with.

These were the men of the Directory—a Quintumvirate which had allowed the Austrians to undo, in Italy, the great work of 1796. He denounced them—his old friends Barras and Sièyes among them—for their imbecility; obliging them to resign their office, and then marched with his grenadiers to abolish the Council of Five Hundred at the Orangery of St. Cloud. His act was like the dispersion of the Long Parliament by Oliver Cromwell. The 18th *Brumaire* was one of

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\*The occupation of African territory is one of the French ideas and is, of course, in accord with the ideas of other great nations, like the English, the Russian, and even our own—all bent on overrunning and occupying. Morocco will yet belong to France; and, at this moment, a project is on foot to extend the French roads and colonies, through the Atlas ridges, down to the fertile region of Timbuctoo and the Soudan.

the "crowning mercies" of Bonaparte's career; and his brothers, Joseph and Lucien (President of the Council,) helped him through the ordeal to the Consulate of Three, of whom he was ranked as the First. Then followed, in 1800, his impetuous campaign against the Austrians and the celebrated victory of Marengo; changing, as if by magic, the face of the European chess-board, and leading to the peace of Luneville.

France was again in the ascendant. The young Czar Paul, by his ambassador, expressed a romantic respect for its chief, and corresponded with him by letter. The First Consul advised the emperor to advance an army toward the Oxus and the Indus, and carry out the work by military colonies, each occupying in advance its agricultural station, cultivating its own supplies and going forward, from year to year, sustained by an assurance of support from those coming after. This idea has not slept, though moving slowly; since the soldiers of the Czar are now at Tashkend and Sagalien. A possible alliance of France and Russia troubled all the friends of the old order of things, and attempts were made to assassinate the First Consul. In one of them an infernal machine was exploded (24th of December, 1800) close to the opera house which he was about to enter, shaking the houses and killing several persons. The attempt against his friend, the Czar—who had just ordered the chief of the Bourbons to quit Russian territory—was more successful. Paul was assassinated by his courtiers and some of his own relatives; and the historians of England and Germany placed on permanent record the opinion that he was a man of crazy ideas, and unfit to live.

The rule of the First Consul—for the two others were merely his ministers—was a restoration of order after a period of disturbance. The industry of France experienced a happy revival. The administration of the laws was greatly improved, and a Concordat (15th July, 1801) brought the country into friendly relations with the Catholic church and the Pope. Yet the government was a centralization—the control of the body politic emanating, so to speak, from the brain of one man; a state of things not unsuitable to a period of transition and the sword, when the European monarchies stood ready to

question the right of France to control northern Italy and Holland, and hold the left bank of the Rhine. The Consulate led naturally to the Empire; and the day when, in 1804,\* Napoleon received the crown of Charlemagne from Pope Pius VII in the cathedral of Notre-Dame;† and, subsequently at Milan, adjusted on his head, with his own hands, the Iron Crown of Lombardy, bearing the magnificent old device—*Dieu me l'a donné; gare à qui la touche!* These were the challenges of a resolute soldier; and the European war-beacons were soon again in a blaze. The new emperor was execrated for the seizure—on the neutral ground of the Grand Duchy of Baden—and for the execution of the Bourbon Duc d'Enghien. But it was an act of self-defence at a time when the French generals Moreau, Pichegru and others were incited by the late king's family to overthrow or assassinate Bonaparte. In 1805, Russia, Austria and Prussia declared war against him; and his retort was the passage of the Rhine, the seizure of Vienna, the capture of Mack's 30,000 men at Ulm, and the astounding victory of Austerlitz; a field on which the Czar's army was annihilated. Under the Treaty of Presburg, Napoleon raised the electorates of Bavaria and Würtemberg into kingdoms, and founded in Germany a French Protectorate called the Confederation of the Rhine. But a shadow from the sea swept across the field of that triumph. In the October of the same year (1805), Lord Nelson's ships destroyed the combined armaments of France and Spain, at Trafalgar, and France had no longer "any part in the large lordship" of the sea.

The Corsican's ascendancy was, they said, the death of William Pitt. But a wine-drinking habit—as strong as that of Bismarck in the matter of strong and savory meats—might have contributed to that result. The English wrote terrible

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\* Before assuming the crown, Napoleon appealed to the people of France to decide—voting simply *Yes* or *No*. The affirmative presented three and a half millions of votes, against a negative of 2,569. The French were satisfied with "the man and the sword."

† On this occasion Josephine—whom he had married in church-style a few days previously (the earlier ceremony having been a mere civil contract)—was crowned with him. But she did not share in the Milan coronation.

things about Bonaparte—*Napoleon* being never mentioned—and all the moralists declared that, if the latter had only been moderately-minded, he might have died ruler of France. Byron, in *Childe Harold*, sings in that strain of sentiment, which comes oddly enough from one who was himself such a furibond of the gentle muses, and such a scorner of the amenities and regulated ways of social life. Napoleon was mainly a great agency, and he did his work after the manner of other great agencies—a hurricane for instance—which must obey some tendency stronger than themselves. For the rest, if the Corsican had been born a moderate-minded man, like his brother Lucien, he would have lived and died in the little island.

But he was forced to live his own life; partly by some abnormal tendency of mind and body which he had inherited from his father, and partly by the hatreds he had provoked. In 1809, he divorced the empress Josephine and married Marie Louise, Archduchess of Austria; and for this also the moralists have blamed him. Yet, it should be remembered that his first marriage had been a *mariage de convenance* with one whose interest with Barras could procure for him the command of a great army. If Josephine had brought him an heir, the case would have been different. Be this as it may, the result does not appear to have greatly grieved her. She had no affection for a man of his grave and saturnine disposition, and expressed her satisfaction when he had got a son to succeed him—as was the belief at the time.

But the entrance of the Corsican within the charmed circle of the Hapsburgs did not allay the animosities he had excited. The Kaiser Francis remembered that, in 1806, he had been forced to resign his ancient style of Emperor of Germany. England, too, was suffering from the effect of the Berlin Decree which declared her commerce excluded from the continent of Europe. The blow touched her in a vital part; and, if Napoleon had not failed in his seizure of Spain in 1807, and his Russian campaign of 1812, it would have humbled her. These attempts were attributed to the insane ambition of the conqueror. But they were war measures,

counselled by circumstances and by the proverb: "*A la guerre comme à la guerre.*" The English fiercely denounced the seizure of Spain; but it was quite in their own style of warfare. In 1800, they invaded the friendly kingdom of Denmark and destroyed its fleet, lest the First Consul should make use of it. This was thought a great glory; and Campbell, the poet, chanted it in one of his lyrics, the *Battle of the Baltic*:—

"Of Nelson and the North  
Sing the glorious day's renown!"

The same flagrant piece of "poetry" was repeated in 1807, when the Danish fleet was overpowered and carried off from Copenhagen, by lords Cathcart and Gambier. Napoleon took Spain in the same spirit—meaning to cripple the trade of his enemy. The act, however, brought English troops into Spain and roused the Spaniards to insurrection. The other grand movement of Napoleon, made in 1812, had the same purpose of exclusion in view; and a single great victory over the Russians would have disposed the Czar to shut his ports against the British.

The story of that terrible year—of the splendid march across quiescent Germany and the sanguinary retreat—has been told and moralized by a thousand writers. The natural elements of earth and sky destroyed the invading armament; "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera"; and nearly 300,000 veteran soldiers were blotted from the roll-calls of France. And this was the beginning of the end, which came with the rising of Germany and the invasion of France by the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia, in 1813. For a year, Napoleon stood at bay on his own ground, and his battles of Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Arcis-sur-Aube and St. Dizier, exhibited all the fine strategy and soldiery of his most victorious days. But providence was on the side of the strongest—as was once observed by Galgacus, among the Grampian hills; and the emperor was forced to sign an abdication and retire (May 14) to Elba. Of this islet he received the fee-simple and a yearly revenue of two millions of francs, with reversion to his wife, Marie Louise, and son—the latter about three years old. Marie Louise did not accompany

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him. She was thenceforward dead to him—as much so as Josephine herself, who died in that same year of exile, 1814.

When the shepherd was struck down, the flock was scattered. The Bonapartes departed from the ground of France, where they had shared the brighter fortunes of their brother. Joseph, the eldest of the family (born in 1768), who had been placed on the throne of Spain and driven away from that country, for the fourth time, in 1813, went to Switzerland with his wife whom he had married twenty years before. She was daughter of M. Clary, a merchant of Marseilles and had brought her husband a family of daughters but no son. Joseph lived many years in America—chiefly at Bordentown, in New Jersey—as the Count de Survilliers. He died at Florence in 1844, followed by his wife in 1845. His daughter Charlotte was married to her cousin Napoleon—son of king Louis, and Hortense—who died at Forlì, in Italy, in 1831. Lucien, born in 1775, was the only member of Napoleon's family whom he did not raise to some princely dignity. He had a love of liberal sentiment and literature, and Paoli, who saw some of his boyish writings, called him "the little Tacitus." In 1796 he married Christine Boyer, daughter of an innkeeper, and when she died, in 1800, he wedded Marie de Bleschamp, divorced wife of M. Joubert, a stock-broker, and, in defiance of the angry instances of his brother, refused to be parted from her. He was president of the Council of Five Hundred, and helped Napoleon to overthrow the Directory in 1799. He and his family then went to reside in Rome, where he studied art and archaeology, and in 1808 was made Prince of Canino and Musignana by Pius VII. In 1810, he was on his way to the United States; but was captured by a British cruiser and kept in custody till 1814, when he went again to Rome. He was author of an Indian novel, published in 1799; an epic poem entitled *Charlemagne, ou l'Eglise Sauvée*, London, 1814; another styled, *La Cyrréide, ou la Corse Sauvée*, in 1830; a *Description of Etruscan Antiquities*; \* *La Vérité sur les Cent Jours*, and *Mémoires*.

\* The Etruscan Antiquities were, for the most part, dug up at Cucamella on his own estate of Canino—the place being considered the site of the ancient Vetulonia.

Louis Bonaparte, born in 1778, was made king of Holland in 1806, and expected to hinder all commercial intercourse with England. He sympathized with his industrious Dutchmen and was rather roughly coerced by his brother, who compelled him to marry Hortense, daughter of Josephine, and make regulations injurious to the commerce of Holland. The marriage was an unhappy one, Louis and his wife living very much apart. In 1810, he went away from Holland and Hortense—his kingdom being incorporated with the empire—and resided with his brother in France, where he published a novel about his Dutch people, *Les Hollandaises*, and seemed to prefer the work of writing to that of ruling. He published a volume of poetry, and also wrote a history of the English Parliament, from its origin to the year 1800.\* Later (1829) he wrote a "Reply," to some misstatements of Sir Walter Scott in his rather hurried and unsatisfactory *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, and died in 1846.

The youngest brother, Jerome, born in 1784, was made a naval officer: and it was as a captain of a small war-vessel, *L'Epervier*, that he visited Philadelphia, in 1803, and there contracted marriage with Miss Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore; just at the time his brother was about to become an emperor. The latter had the marriage broken in the French courts, on plea of Jerome's minority, and when, in 1805, the young couple went to Europe they were prevented from landing in France, and separated,—the wife going to England, where she gave birth to her son Jerome, and then returning to America. Her husband was made admiral in the naval service; and when that was virtually abolished, at Trafalgar, he received the rank of General. In 1807, he married Catherine, daughter of the king of Würtemberg, and was made king of Westphalia. He served in the German wars of Napoleon, and (in 1815) commanded a division in the battles of Ligny and Waterloo.

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\*Hortense, though she never loved Louis, must have sympathized a little with his love of poetry. She, herself, wrote verses, and one of her pieces—*Partant pour la Syrie*—was made very memorable by her son, Napoleon III, who had it set to music as the representative, in France, of the English air, "God Save the Queen."

Madame *Mère* was not ennobled by any title. A shrewd, sedate gentlewoman, she disliked the state and ceremony of courts; and, happy in the society of a few old friends and the visits of her children, lived a life of calm wonder at the luck of the family, fearing it might come to an end some day, and saving her money to meet any of the turns of fortune. Her daughters shared the splendid rise of her sons. Marie Elise, born in 1777, and married, in 1797, to Felix Bacciochi, a poor officer of good family, was, in 1808, created Princess of Piombina and Grand Duchess of Lucca, in which station she supported her dignity and her husband with remarkable ability. She died in 1820. Her younger sister, Marie Pauline, born 1780, was first married to General LeClere (1801) and, after his death, to Prince Borghese, in 1803. She was the most beautiful of the family and loved state and splendid society as if she had been to the manner born. She also loved the fine arts and patronized them, and was the favorite sister of the emperor. Her death took place in 1825. Caroline Marie Anunciada, the youngest daughter, born in 1782, was, in 1800, married to the *beau sabreur*, Joachim Murat; and, in 1808, she found herself Queen of Naples; in which high office she showed as much ruling ability as her husband, and went beyond him in the work of patronizing art and literature, founding schools for female instruction, and increasing the *Museo Borbonico* from the excavations of Pompeii. Talleyrand used to say of Queen Caroline that she was "a charming woman with the head of Oliver Cromwell." She was by far the ablest woman of the Bonaparte family. She died at Florence in 1839.

"All these and more went flocking" from France and their customary places, on the first exile of Napoleon in 1814. But the curtain which fell on the little isle in that year soon rose again, to exhibit one of the most powerful acts of that vehement life-drama. On the first of March, 1815, after an exile of six months, and while the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance were busily employed in arranging affairs in Europe after the old fashions, Napoleon stepped from a little vessel to the quay at Frejus, in the south of France, with a company of about a dozen persons, and began a march on Paris which is

perhaps the most astonishing on military record. The Bourbon monarchy was guarded by 200,000 armed men and guaranteed by all the kings of Europe, when Napoleon set out. On the 2d of March, he and his little party approached Vizelle, where a strong regiment was drawn up. Flinging open his coat and baring his breast, he advanced and asked aloud if the soldiers wanted to shoot their old commander. The effect was instantaneous; and in half an hour he was on his march to Grenoble at the head of his late opponents. He performed the same sort of military miracle at the barricades of the latter city, raised to oppose him, and still pressed his march forward. At Lyons he found himself suddenly at the head of an army which, the day before, had obeyed the Duc d'Artois; and so travelled onward, without pausing, in a growing tumult of enthusiasm, till he found himself once more in the old palace of Fontainebleau. Between this place and Paris was massed the army of Louis XVIII, commanded by his brother and sworn to seize the fugitive. But the scene at Melun was the crowning astonishment. A hundred thousand men, standing to their arms, looked intensely towards the high road to the south. Suddenly, coming over the ridge, appeared a single *calèche*, driven rapidly and holding three persons— one of them being General Drouet, the other General Bertrand — while the centre man stood with his arms stretched forward. History narrates what followed. While the army rushed towards the emperor, the royal princes fled to Paris; the *calèche* coming on swiftly behind them, backed by a hundred thousand men. On the same day, 20th of March, Louis XVIII was driving as rapidly in the direction of Ghent, while Napoleon, entering the Tuileries in the evening, issued his orders as calmly as if he had never left it.\* This and other authentic actions of Napoleon throw the fanciful and semi-fabulous exploits of Alexander and Cæsar into the shade, and sufficiently

\* The French punctuate their stormiest facts of history with *bons mots*; and the jest of 1814 was at the expense of the journalists, who, when the invader had landed in France, announced: "The *Corsican* is in France." Next day it was: "Bonaparte is at Grenoble;" in a few days they printed: "General Bonaparte is at Lyons;" then: "The *Emperor* is at Auxerre;" and at last: "His Majesty, the *Emperor*, reached the Tuileries last evening in good health."

account for the popularity of himself and his memory in France.

The work that followed exhibited the same, if not a greater, amount of energy and genius. For thirty days, as the emperor himself recorded, he spent sixteen hours a day in the effort to raise the army of France from 200,000 to 400,000 men; at the same time announcing a new constitution such as he knew the people of France had long needed. He then summoned the great officers, dignitaries and popular representatives to the grand spectacular pageant of the *Champ de Mai*—a modern reproduction of the Frankish *Campus Martius*—and there pledged himself and them, on the first of June, to the defence of the country against all its enemies. The allied sovereigns, who had quitted France, retraced their steps and were soon approaching the frontiers with nearly half a million of soldiers. The English and Prussians, under Wellington and Blücher, were still in Belgium; and the emperor, quitting Paris, resolved to fall upon and annihilate them, before the Russians and Austrians could come up. His troops were inferior to those of Austerlitz and Jena; but he beat Blücher and the Prussians at Ligny, and the English from Quatre-Bras, and then, after a night's rest in the midst of a violent rain, stormed the ridges of Waterloo on the 18th of June. The British squares stood steadily on the defensive till the evening, when Blücher with the Prussians, moving against the flank of the French army, forced it back in confusion and put an end to the emperor's latest and most wonderful reign, of "The Hundred Days."

The last scene of all presents us with the little farm-stead of St. Helena, treeless under a tropical sun, and watched day and night by a cordon of English soldiers; and it has, for a great many, as strong an interest as any of those that preceded it. In it Napoleon showed more of his natural character to those about him, whether in his talk or, more simply, in his shirt-sleeves and drawers; as may be gathered from the memorials of him published by Montholon, Gourgaud, Las Cases, Surgeon O'Meara, Antomarchi and others. He was more of the man and less of the emperor. And yet, in one

respect, he insisted on maintaining "state" and waging war to the end. To the English, and against them, he was always "Emperor," and manœvered against Sir Hudson Lowe as resolutely as he had done previously against kaisers and kings; insisting on a proper personal respect, and resisting all attempts to coerce or intrude upon him in any way. In this, people have discovered a certain littleness. But that was part of his powerful character. He always acted with reference to the feelings and prejudices of men in general; much more than Zeno would have done, or Diogenes, or Ignatius Loyola; and was no ascetic, but a man of strong passions and high-handed ways—one who had, after his own fashion, as lively a sympathy with his fellow-beings as Oliver Goldsmith himself.

In 1821, at the age of fifty-two, Napoleon died of cancer of the stomach; rendered, of course, more deadly by the vehement brain-work of years, and the hot air of St. Helena.\* The sovereigns composing the Holy Alliance could now breathe freely. They had been always haunted by the idea that the man of Austerlitz and Moscow might again appear in the midst of them, at any moment; especially as many American vessels had touched at the island. The English were fearful of some American stratagem in the way of carrying off the prisoner, as he, in 1815, had proposed to take up his abode in the United States. In Germany, France, Italy and Spain, things went on after the old fashion; and yet not quite in the old ways. The outbreak of French democracy and the onsets of French armies had changed the thoughts of men; and society, through much tribulation, was making some steps in advance.

Nine years after the death of Napoleon, the Parisians drove the elder Bourbons out of France; and in 1841, Louis Philippe brought back the remains of the emperor and laid them in the grand sarcophagus of the Invalides, thus giving a national

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\* Marie Louise—twenty-four years old in 1815—did not accompany her husband to Elba or St. Helena. She lived chiefly in Parma as Duchess of Parma, Placenza and Guastalla; and, about a year after the death of Napoleon, married General Count Neipperg, by whom she had several children. In 1836, the troubles of Italy forced her to quit the Duchy and she died at Vienna, in 1847, aged 56.

sanction to the popular feeling of the country, where, in disregard of the old conscriptions, sufferings and invasions, the memory of the great soldier and law-giver was remembered with pride. The poets had helped to strengthen that feeling. Even in England, Byron wrote some of his best things on the theme of Napoleon; and a number of other European poets—Manzoni among them—followed his example. All the great French poets took pride in his glory; most notably, Victor Hugo, who has given the world a number of lyrics on that animating theme—the “Ode to the Column in the Place Vendôme,” “*Lui*,” “*Bonaparte*,” and several others; while Lamartine and Casimir Delavigne, after a less fervid manner, moralized the great character and life-work of the chief, in a very harmonious manner. But, of all those French bards, Béranger has done most

to soften to the heart  
Napoleon's story;

as all readers of his happy and popular songs—especially the “*Souvenirs du Peuple*”—

“ On parlera de sa gloire  
Sous le chaume bien longtemps—”

may easily remember.

The biography of Napoleon II, born in 1811, and made king of Rome in his infancy, is as short and shadowy as that of Louis XVII. On the fall of his father, he, a child of three years, was taken by his mother to Vienna, where he was educated, and, in 1818, made Duke of Reichstadt. He was a mild, sickly lad, having more of the Hapsburg than the Corsican blood in his veins. His education was partly military, and he performed for a few years the duty of lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of Hungarian hussars. He died of phthisis, at the Palace of Schoenbrunn, in 1832.

Seven years after the burial-pageant of Napoleon, came the Revolution of 1848, which brought the Bonapartes back to France, with the man who, at his baptism, in 1808, had been recognized by Napoleon as among the heirs of his throne. Louis Napoleon was the youngest son of Hortense Beauharnais and Louis, king of Holland, who sometimes said the boy was

not his, while others declared that he was the son of Admiral Verhuel, the Hollander. Subsequently, when Louis quitted Holland and went to live in Italy, he took with him his son Napoleon Louis—an elder child had died in infancy—leaving the youngest with his mother in Switzerland, where, in due time, the lad entered the Swiss civil service (1824 to 1830). In the latter year he went to Italy to join his brother, who had engaged in a *carbonaro* insurrection against the pope. The young men could do little. The elder (married to his cousin) died of fever, at Forli, in 1831, and the younger went back to Switzerland, where he remained, watchful of the signs of the times. In 1836, he tried, at Strasburg, to raise an insurrection against Louis Philippe, but was arrested and sent off to Brazil. Thence he went northward to New York, where he is still remembered. He next resided in London, chiefly in the society of Count D'Orsay and Lady Blessington, and there published his *Idées Napoléoniennes*. In 1840, he made another wild attempt against Louis Philippe, landing at Boulogne with a few companions, among whom were Count de Montholon and a large tame eagle.\* This imperial fancy cost him an imprisonment of over five years in the fortress of Ham, whence he contrived to make his escape in 1846.

In 1848, Prince Louis Napoleon was returned to the French Legislative Assembly by several constituencies, including Paris; and, in spite of some protests, took his place in the Chamber, where, from the first, he seemed to hold himself aloof and in reserve, with a certain taciturnity which many mistook for genius, but which was simply cunning. With his cold and reticent manner, he had no personal popularity—and it was significantly noted that he was wanting in that vivacity of tone and address which belonged to all other members of the Napoleonic family. His few speeches in the

\*A feeling for omens and symbols was very strong in the Bonaparte family—as, in fact, it has been, more or less, in all families of men. Louis Napoleon meant to hoist his bird on a staff and carry it aloft to Paris, charming the minds of all Frenchmen along the route. The obsequies of the late Prince Imperial observed in England offered to the spectators a device of a similar character. A bronze eagle was raised over the catafalque, with a living dove perched on its back—the bird having been trained to expect a supply of grain on that place. Sorrow has its own fantasies, like pleasure.

Chamber were feeble and affected, and Thiers declared he was a *tête de bois*—an epithet something like that bestowed by Lord Byron on the Duke of Wellington.

A majority of five millions of French votes in 1849 raised the heir of Napoleon to the presidency of the French republic; and he began his government with a firm reliance on the principle of universal suffrage. The later history of France had assured him it could be as friendly to a strong government, as any agency of kingly sovereignty in other countries. The *souvenirs du peuple* were on his side, and the powerful influences of the clergy were exerted in favor of the chief who, in 1849, sent General Oudinot to guard the pontiff against the insurrectionists of Rome; so that when, in 1851, the president broke with the Assembly, dissolving it in *Brumaire* fashion, and violently arresting its most refractory members, the *plébiscite* to which he appealed not only sustained the act with seven millions of votes against one million, but also (1852) accepted him as Emperor of the French, successor of Charlemagne and Napoleon.

Most people remember his career. In 1853, he made a democratic virtue of necessity, by marrying Eugenie de Montijo instead of seeking a royal alliance—such as would, probably, have rejected him.\* His war-alliances of the Crimea and China, together with his visits to the queen of England and the czar (1857), gave his reign an *éclat* which was not diminished when, in 1859, he went with a strong army to drive the Austrians from northern Italy. In a year (of Magenta and Solferino) he had transferred Lombardy to Victor

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\* Eugenie Marie de Montijo, born at Granada, in Spain, in 1826, was daughter of Count de Montijo, a grandee. Her mother, Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick, was descended of a Scottish Catholic family exiled on the fall of the Stuarts. Eugenie travelled much with her mother and met Prince Louis Napoleon in London. Her marriage in 1853 raised her to the highest social level. She visited, and was visited by, Queen Victoria. She was a friend of the church party called "ultramontane," and the recognized leader of the European world of fashion. In 1869, she made a grand tour, during which, accompanied by her son, she inaugurated the statue of Napoleon, at Ajaccio; presided at the opening of the Suez Canal, and then astonished all the "harems" of the East by her visit to the sultan at Constantinople. Her suffering, on the death of her only son, has won for her more kindly regard and sympathy than all the splendors of her reign.

Emmanuel and obtained in return the territories of Nice and Savoy.

The downward course of Napoleon III began with his recognition of the American Confederacy and his attempt to restore the empire of Montezuma under the rule of Maximilian,—an unlucky potentate who, having been supported for three years by French bayonets, met his fate in 1867 from the bullets of a Mexican platoon. By degrees the intelligence of the French educated classes grew weary of the imperial strategy, and the emperor and his ministry made liberal concessions which were “like the letting out of water.” By a law of 1868, the press was freed from its restrictions, and the elections of next year were consequently disputed in a very tumultuous manner, in the great cities—Paris, Lyons, Marseilles—where Thiers, Favre, Simon, Gambetta, Bancel, Raspail, Rochefort, Crémieux, Arago and others were elected in opposition,—the result exhibiting a decline of the imperial suffrage from eight millions to less than five. Arrests were made, and then concessions; the latter including the return of a number of exasperated political exiles. In the beginning of 1870, the Napoleonic tide was ebbing rapidly, darkened by a peculiar omen—the shooting of Victor Noir, the journalist, by Pierre Bonaparte, son of Lucien, Prince of Canino; and then came the unexpected sound of arms, the cry of *à Berlin!* in the streets of Paris, and the march against the Prussians—as wild and wilful a fatality as that of Napoleon I against the czar in 1812.

The catastrophe of Sedan was as astounding as that of Moscow—and more decisive. The French army was unprepared to act with vigor—the money voted to support it having been diverted from its purpose in a fraudulent manner—as the Emperor discovered when it was too late. He made a feeble show of going, with his son, to the front where he was bewildered in the confusion of marches and countermarches, broken by sanguinary defeats. Saarbrück, Worth and Gravelotte, were followed by Sedan—where another French empire was fated to sink before the military onset of Prussia.

On the 2d of September, 1870, Napoleon III drove to the

head-quarters of King William, and, unbuckling his sword—in the demonstrative style to which he was always partial—placed it in the hands of his vanquisher; after which he proceeded to the king's castle of Wilhelmshöhe; while Eugenie, escaping from the Tuileries in disguise, made her way to England, and William marched forward to Versailles, where, in the midst of his princes, generals and counsellors, he assumed the style of Emperor of Germany. His revenge for Jena was as ample as it was astonishing.

After an imprisonment of six months, the ex-emperor, broken in health and hope, joined his wife and son at Chiselhurst, and there awaited the end—which came on the 9th of January, 1873. He had lived ten years longer than his great uncle.

Among the many ambitions of Louis Napoleon's life was that of authorship. He published several works: *Les Œuvres de Napoléon III* (1854–1869), *Œuvres Militaires* (1856), and his unfinished *Vie de Jules César*.

The fate of the Prince Imperial, Louis Eugene, was in keeping with the history of his family, so full of change and disaster. He was born in 1856; and at the age of two years spoke English better than he did French. His father, for many reasons of kindly feeling, or policy, showed a liking for the English and had the child nursed by a healthy young Briton. At the age of three the boy was a *petit caporal*, and subsequently a colonel in a regiment of Chasseurs. In the dark days of 1870, he accompanied his father to the scene of the military struggle, and was present at the battles of Saarbrück and Metz. That was an unfortunate "baptism of fire" for the poor lad—ominous of the later baptism of blood in Kaffirland.

From Chiselhurst the prince was sent to King's College, London; and, on the breaking out of the Zulu war, proposed to serve for a time with Lord Chelmsford,—guided, of course, by the wishes of the Empress Eugenie and his Bonapartist adherents, who counted much on the friendship of England. At the parting visit to Queen Victoria, she gave him a ring, for remembrance; and on the 27th of February, 1879, his

mother accompanied him to Southampton and took leave of him on board his ship, bound for Natal—looking forward to the day of his happy return. In Africa he became one of the *aides-de-camp* of Lord Chelmsford, and proceeded inland to meet the *impi* of king Cetewayo, a little beyond the ridge of Isandula, where the English had suffered such a shameful defeat some weeks before. The district was swarming with Kaffirs; and the prince went forward on several *reconnaisances*, accompanied by other officers. On the day of his death (June 1st) he reached a place ten miles from camp, attended by Lieut. Cary, of the 98th Regiment, and five troopers, and dismounting, made a sketch of the surrounding country. As they were about to return, the party saw a number of dark faces among the cornstalks, and hastening to their horses, were attacked by the Zulus. The prince was overtaken and killed with two of the troopers, Lieut. Cary and the rest escaping. The body of the prince was found next day, speared in seventeen places and stripped.\* It was brought to England, where at Chiselhurst it rests beside the remains of Napoleon III.

The death of the Prince Imperial, last male descendant of King Louis, has weakened the pretensions and hopes of the Bonapartes, eight of whom, at least, are now living—descendants of Lucien and Jerome, brothers of Napoleon I—for Joseph, who died in 1847, left no male heirs. Lucien, who died in 1840 at Viterbo, had four sons and six daughters. Of the latter, two were by his first wife, Christine Boyer. One of them married Prince Gabrielli, and the other became Lady Dudley Stuart. One of his daughters by the second wife was married to Sir Thomas Wyse, British Ambassador at Athens. The eldest of his sons, Charles Lucien, born in 1803, became a man of literary pursuits with a strong leaning to the Italian

\* The prince, adopting the curious custom of his family, usually wore a talisman, enclosing a gem, suspended from his neck—the gift of his father, who had received it from Napoleon I, who, himself, was taught to believe it came, in some way, from the Emperor Charlemagne. Napoleon Eugene carried it on the day of his death; and the superstition that had transmitted it so far still preserved it. The Zulus who stripped him would not meddle with it. It was the *fetish* of an enemy which might injure them; and when the owner was taken up, it was found resting in its customary place.

revolutionists, against the Austrians and the pope. He married his first cousin, Zénaïde, daughter of King Joseph, a lady who, like himself, loved literature and helped him to bring out his books on European and American ornithology, and his *Iconographia della Fauna Italica*. In 1850 he went to Paris, where he became Director of the *Jardin des Plantes*. He published Memoirs of himself and died in 1857, leaving three sons; the eldest of whom, Joseph Louis, died at Rome in 1865. His second son, Lucien Louis Joseph, born in 1828, and educated for the priesthood, was made a Cardinal in 1868. His third son, Napoleon Gregory, was married to the Princess Ruspoli and served with the French army in Algiers and Mexico.

The second son of the Corsican Lucien is Louis Lucien, born in 1813, and distinguished for his cultivation of philology and chemistry. In 1847 he was elected to the French Legislative Assembly from the department of the Seine. He is an LL.D. of Oxford, and has published a book—*La langue basque et les langues finnoises* (London, 1862) followed by a Basque version of *Solomon's Song*, and a great many essays and letters printed in the London *Athenæum*, the *Academy*, *Notes and Queries*, etc.

The third son of the first Lucien is Pierre Napoleon, born in 1815, and very much of a wanderer, like most of his family. His nature is rather wilful and vehement. In 1836 the pope sentenced him to exile from Rome for his *carbonaro* sentiments. On that occasion he had a scuffle with the *shirri* and killed one of them. After his liberation from the castle of Santo Angelo he travelled to Germany and England, and then joined the French army in Algeria. Quitting his regiment without leave, he was arrested; and his conduct being commented on by a journal, he fought a duel with the editor. In 1869 he married the daughter of his washerwoman and sturdily refused to divorce her, at the urgent instance of his cousin, the emperor. In 1870 he killed Victor Noir, a journalist, who had come to his house with a challenge from another journalist, and was mulcted in a sum of 25,000 francs. He then migrated to London with his family, and there, in

Bond Street, set his wife up in the business of a fashionable dressmaker, with her name—*La Princesse Bonaparte*—over the window. The act was Napoleonic in its daring, and Madame was happy to find it very profitable. If she has any children, their names are not yet on public record.

The first Lucien had yet another son, Antoine, born in 1816, a man of quiet ideas and ways who lived very much at home with his father, and at the same time sympathized, like the other members of the family, with the malcontents of Italy. He was a member of the French Assembly, but retired from public life in 1851.

The youngest brother of Napoleon I—Jerome, who died in 1860, near Paris, in the calm light of imperialism—had three sons. His Würtemberg issue, Jerome Napoleon, an officer in the army of Würtemberg, was born in 1814 and died in 1847. His second son, Napoleon-Joseph—nicknamed *Plon-plon* in his childhood, from his attempts to pronounce the name *Napoléon*—was born in 1822 and educated at Rome and in Switzerland; his teacher in the latter place being his cousin, subsequently Napoleon III. Louis Philippe allowed him to reside in France, where he and his father, Jerome, helped in 1849, the advancement of his cousin and tutor. Yet he was very democratic in his ideas, and almost always in opposition to the emperor. He took a slight part in the expedition to the Crimea; but, being “fat and scant of breath,” like Hamlet, did not do anything to distinguish himself. He always had a look of Napoleon I; and the lyricist, Béranger, said he was “a medallion of the emperor steeped in German oil.” From his mother he derived the placidity of manner which has exposed him to some ridicule and concealed many of his better qualities. In 1859 he married Clothilde, daughter of the late king of Italy and sister of the present king. In 1865 he was present at the inauguration of a statue of Napoleon I at Ajaccio, and, in presence of the empress and her son, made a very democratic speech, for which the emperor publicly rebuked him. In spite of his democracy, the new government of 1871 would not allow him to live in France, and he went to his

estate of Prangins, near Geneva. He has two sons, Victor and Louis, the eldest of whom is seventeen years old.

A notice of the Bonaparte family would be incomplete without mention of the American branch of it. Jerome Bonaparte, son of Jerome, the first emperor's brother, and Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, was born in 1805, in England, whither his mother had proceeded, on the Emperor's refusal to let her land in France. Mother and son soon returned to Baltimore. In 1829 Jerome, Jr. married Miss Susan Williams, of Roxbury, Mass., greatly to the disgust of his mother, who was then in Europe among her husband's princely relations and who had tried to obtain for him one of the daughters of King Joseph. A late number of *Scribner's Magazine* contains some of her letters to her father (Mr. Patterson) in which she writes a number of vivacious, giddy and shrewish things, indicating that, in her own family, she must have been a *petite peste*—the epithet Napoleon applied to the Duchess d'Abrantes. In one letter, she calls her husband, Jerome, "the most worthless of his race," and elsewhere she says her son "Bo" has neither ambition nor energy; adding that, after all, one cannot make a silk purse of a sow's ear. Adoring the dignity of the Bonapartes and looking down on the Pattersons, she spent fifteen years in Europe—from 1819 to 1834—and then returned to live, for the next forty-five years, in Baltimore—somewhat after the secluded fashion of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in Italy, and Lady Hester Stanhope in Syria. She was a close economist of her means, which were chiefly derived from the allowance she received from the first Napoleon.

Jerome Patterson Bonaparte visited Paris in 1838 and 1849, and was kindly received by Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. But he could not procure any French recognition of his mother's marriage. He died in 1870. His son, Jerome Napoleon, born 1832, is a graduate of West Point. He served with the French army in the Crimea and elsewhere, till the fall of the emperor. He is married to a Boston lady, and a resident of Baltimore.

The death of the Prince Imperial has devolved the leadership of the Bonapartists on Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome;

and he has accepted it, as a matter of course, receiving only a qualified adhesion from the advocates of imperialism, and hoping very little, probably, from its chances in the future. He has hitherto expressed sympathy with the French republic, and is not a man to plot against it, since France, forgetting old frenzies and delusions, has evidently resolved to maintain it. Her people hope nothing from Bourbons, Orleanists or Bonapartes; names that, in all likelihood, will fade away into the limbo of the Jagellons, Vasas, Stuarts, Estes and Guelfs, where the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns will join them, in the fulness of time. On some coming day, a republic of Germany may allow Alsace-Lorraine to choose its allegiance; thus removing the heart-burnings of the French, in a spirit of democratic fraternity, and bringing into life a "Confederation of the Rhine" far more beautiful and beneficent than that of 1807. The people everywhere are outliving their old enmities—most notably on both sides of the Strait of Calais; and the death of the French prince has given some very remarkable evidence of this change of sentiment. The English feel kindly towards those Bonapartes so hated by their fathers; and a queen of England has wept over the fate of the Corsican's grand-nephew. On the 12th of July, 1879, the day of the funeral at Chiselhurst, Victoria and her daughter Beatrice went to the chapel where the coffin lay, knelt, Catholic fashion, before the candles of the altar, offered flowers, and mingled her tears with those of Prince Napoleon, his sister, Princess Mathilde, and other foreign mourners. On that occasion she observed, in a very natural way, that it was a changed world, when a grandchild of George III could be found at the funeral of a Bonaparte.

All things considered, the Bonapartes have not lived in vain.\* The wildest or boldest of the family have shaken

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\*Conspicuous failures do not prove that men have lived in vain. One of the failures of the present day is Ismail Pasha, who is now at his St. Helena (Naples) dictating his "Mémoires," probably, to some Frenchman. But he has done a thousand things—mostly in a high-handed, overbearing way,—to rouse Egypt from its dream of ages and push it along the highway of modern progress. Civilization is marked by many defeats and overthrows. But, to quote the words of Galileo, *e pur si muove*.

and hurried the progress of European liberty in a variety of ways, and the terrible disasters that have overtaken some of them have had the effect of softening animosities, and bringing into more kindly relations and a better state of feeling those who "had once stood off in differences so mighty." And this may be accepted as the moral of the Napoleonic drama on which the curtain has just fallen.

## ART. II.—THE MANAGEMENT OF THE INDIANS.

PERHAPS at no time in the history of the United States has the Indian Question demanded a more careful consideration than at present. The outbreak of the Utes, resulting in the murder of Agent Meeker, the death of Major Thornburg and the threatened outbreak of an Indian war; the hegira of the Poncas from the Indian Territory, that they might save the small remnant of their tribe still surviving the unhealthy climate; the decision of the United States Courts, that Indians have the same legal rights as white men; the general interest in these unfortunate people which has been awakened in all parts of the country; the massacre of the Cheyennes, who, driven to desperation by unjust imprisonment and broken promises, attempted to overpower the guards and secure for themselves the freedom which no people prize more highly than they:—these events, fresh in the memory of all and emphasized by agitation set on foot by certain well-known philanthropists, and the avowed intention on the part of the Government to make some change in the management of Indian Affairs, render a discussion of the Indian question very opportune.

We had hoped to see the subject discussed by the Executive in his late Message to Congress in a manner befitting its importance. In this hope, however, we were disappointed, as must also have been every Christian whose fortunes are cast with those on the frontier. He indulges in hopes and fears; expresses sympathy for the wronged and suffering tribes; and promises to do all in his power to prevent outrages and to preserve the peace on the reservations—like the good Christian, but poor philosopher, that he is. “It is expected,” he writes, “that the settlement of this difficulty [the late trouble between the

Utes and Agent Meeker] will lead to such arrangements as will prevent further hostile contact between the Indians and the border settlement in western Colorado." For our part, we cannot understand why the president should indulge such rosy-hued expectations. The causes and conditions under which the late disturbances were fomented still exist ; and, until they are changed for the better, it is idle to expect any favorable change in the relations of the two races.

The occasion demands the institution of measures whereby impartial justice may be administered between these two irreconcilable races. No one doubts the humanity of the president nor the kindly intent of the chief of the Department of the Interior. But the best approved sentiments on the part of rulers count for nothing unless supported by means and agencies to give them effect. On these points the president is as silent as a school-boy with his first lesson. He brings forward no policy ; he makes no suggestions looking to a change in the *status quo* of Indian affairs. It is true, he looks forward with apprehension to the increase of the number of white settlers on the fertile plains of the Indian Territory. The vastness of the wealth, stored in mines and soil, awaiting the shovel of the miner and the plow of the husbandman, cannot fail, thinks he, to attract the cupidity of the white man, and tempt him to assume an attitude of aggression. "Under such circumstances," writes the president, "the difficulty of maintaining the Indian Territory in its present state will greatly increase ; and the Indian tribes inhabiting it would do well to prepare for such a contingency." To this end he advises the purchase in fee simple, by the resident Indians, of such lands as they may be able to settle upon and cultivate, in accordance with the advice given to them by the Secretary of the Interior, in his late Report to Congress ; adding, that it is his purpose "to protect the rights of the Indian inhabitants of that Territory to the full extent of the Executive power." In the absence of any change of policy, or method in carrying out that purpose, which is in no wise different from that announced again and again by the Chief Executive of the nation, we do not see that the suffering inhabitants on the frontier and

reservations, white and red, will be able to extract much substantial comfort from it, or to feel any greater degree of security in their rights of person or property, because of its announcement.

In the management of Indian affairs, two policies have long contended for supremacy, viz.: the present policy of an Indian Bureau, conducted by civilians, and the policy, which constantly gains adherents, of placing the Indians under the charge of the War Department. Long years of failure have convinced most men who are not immediately interested in the Indian Ring—one of the most powerful of the rings which have nearly changed our Government from a democracy to a "ringocracy," that the control of the Indians should pass from the hands of those who have so conspicuously abused their trust.

The people of the east are interested in this question on general principles. The present mismanagement is a blot on our Government. Humanity is outraged by the wrongs which it permits to be perpetrated on the Indians; and all who would make of our Government what its admirers claim for it, namely, the best government on the earth, desire to change the present sad condition both of the Indians and the white people living near them. But to the people of the west, and especially to those living on the frontier, as does the writer, the management of the Indians is a subject of the most vital importance. Success in farming, stock raising and mining—in short, in all the pursuits of civilized life, depends on the successful management of Indian affairs. Every year our western papers have teemed with reports of ranches destroyed, horses and cattle stolen, and settlers, trappers and miners killed by the Indians. No one on the frontier is safe; and it affords slight satisfaction to those whose property has been taken, whose families, perhaps, massacred, for the military to begin an Indian war, and finally to succeed after an enormous expenditure of treasure, and the sacrifice of life, in subduing the red men. What those who live near the Indian reservations, in actual contact with the Indians, demand is security of life and property, and the liberty peaceably to pursue their customary avocations.

All can see that under the present management this is impossible. Treaties made with all possible solemnity are broken, in almost every case, not by the Indians, but by corrupt agents of the Government; clothing and rations fall short when most needed; reckless white men steal from the Indians and squat on their reservations; and when the Indians, outraged in this wanton manner beyond endurance, break out into open hostilities, the military is called upon to conquer a peace. A trifle has created the disturbance, which soon grows to the magnitude of an Indian war. Indian agents, traders and contractors are changed from time to time, and yet the evil does not abate. What is the reason of it? We answer:

Partly, because the appointees gain these positions as a reward for political services, often of the basest kind, rendered to the party in power; a position of trust is degraded to one of profit; while sufficient care is not exercised in choosing honest and capable men to fill these important positions: and partly, because it is a long way to Washington, and the Indian Bureau is much like Dickens' circumlocution office. There is an immense amount of red tape to be unwound; and before the tedious task is ended, the Indians have entered on the war path, intent on avenging their own wrongs; the military have taken the case in hand; and in the horrors of an Indian war the original cause of complaint is lost sight of. Perhaps an Indian Commission, composed of men who have never lived on the frontier and possess no knowledge of frontier life, is sent from Washington to investigate the matter. Before the Commission starts, the agents know of its coming, and everything is put in order, like a college or an asylum examination, so that the Commissioners, completely misled as to the cause of the trouble, have nothing to report but Indian outrages! It is thus apparent that the headquarters are too far away. With the best intentions, therefore, the Indian Bureau could not administer justice in these broils between Indians and white men.

Moreover, the Indians are of different tribes, having different social and religious customs. Some belong to the mountains; some to the plains; some in the north and some in the south. Some tribes are semi-civilized; others altogether wild.

To the Department at Washington, as to the most of the citizens of the United States, Indians are Indians, who are all to be managed in the same way. Hence arise numerous blunders and mistakes which promote serious disturbances. Nor can it be otherwise, from the nature of the case, so long as a single department attempts the management of affairs so complex and difficult as those of the Indian Bureau. Heads of departments are but men, with the faults and fallacies common to men; and with so many tribes, scattered over so wide an expanse of territory, to provide for and govern, it is impossible to give to each case the attention necessary to a perfect or an approximately proper management. Nor is there the requisite time. Since so many cases demand immediate decision, each one of which should be as carefully studied as any difference between our Government and a foreign power, it is important that a wise and just decision may be given on the spot, to the end that the perils and sacrifices of an Indian war may be averted.

Were the control of Indian affairs transferred to the War Department, many of these difficulties would be obviated. It would doubtless secure greater efficiency and honesty in the management. Department generals would control the Indians in their several departments, and less time would be consumed in arriving at a decision. Related tribes, accustomed to a common climate and with similar social and religious customs, could then be placed under the same general supervision. While this plan is evidently superior to the present one, there would still be too little discrimination in treating special cases; for many tribes would be in the same department and red tape would still interfere with a rapid settlement of serious difficulties. Nor would political influence at Washington, which is so baleful in its effect upon the honest and efficient administration of any department of government, be altogether annulled.

The principal objection to this, as well as to the present system, and which is fatal to both, remains to be mentioned,—an objection which has hitherto received but little consideration in the discussion of the Indian question, but which the recent decision of Judge Dundy, of Nebraska, in the case of the Ponca Indians, brings prominently into view. According

to this decision, an Indian has the same legal rights before United States Courts as a white man. The logical sequence of this decision is to grant to the Indian the rights of citizenship.

Whether Indian affairs are administered by the War Department or the Department of the Interior, in either case the management is contrary to the spirit and Constitution of the American Government, as interpreted by its founders and advisers. In 1819, Chief Justice Marshall used the following language, which but repeats sentiments uttered by the founders of the republic:—"The Government of the Union is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit." "The Constitution acts directly on the people by means of powers communicated directly *from* the people. No State, in its corporate capacity, ratified it, but it was proposed for adoption to popular conventions." Webster, in 1830, spoke of "the people's government, made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people." President Lincoln, in his Gettysburg address, speaks of "the government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

These principles of government have received the sanctions of statesmen and publicists in all civilized countries. Edmund Burke, in the debate on the control of the American Colonies, in the Parliament of Great Britain, more than a century since, maintained that clemency was but a part of justice. "The natural effect of fidelity, clemency, kindness in governors," he observed, "is peace, good will, order and esteem in the governed."\* And Hon. Horatio Seymour wrote truly in the *North American Review*, of recent date, when he declared that "The theory of our fathers takes away control from political centres and distributes it to the various points that are most interested in its wise and honest exercise. It keeps at every man's home the greatest share of the political power that concerns him individually. It yields to the remote legislative bodies in diminishing proportions as they recede from the direct influence and action of the people.

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\* Morley's *Burke: English Men of Letters* Series.

The local self-government, under which our country is expanding itself over a continent, is founded on the idea that that government is most wise, which is in the hands of those best informed about the particular questions on which they legislate; most economical and honest when controlled by those most interested in preserving frugality and virtue; most strong when it only exercises authority which is beneficial in its action to the governed."

Illustrations of these principles of government are not wanting in the annals of the world. They may be found in abundance in the new democracies as well as in the old,—in the New England plan of town meetings, for example, at which all the affairs of the town are settled, taxes levied and measures for the commonweal adopted; and which, though not introduced into the other States, has yet impressed the whole system of government throughout the north and west. This New England plan proposed local self-government, in which those immediately interested had the control. The smallest amount of power consistent with a strong Union was granted to the general Government, the largest amount reserved for the State, and within the limits of the State the same policy was maintained; while to the State government has been entrusted the least possible amount of power, the largest being given to the public immediately interested who are supposed to be best informed as to their own wants, and of the questions requiring legislation. And it was decided that their legislation would be the most economical and honest because administered by those immediately concerned and most interested in preserving peace and order and securing impartial justice. The order in which power is conferred, in a government by the people, differs from that of monarchical governments: with the latter, the centre has the most, the remote points the least; with the former, this order is somewhat reversed. The aim of the fathers of the American republic was to increase the power and scope of the legislation in the State governments, culminating in the municipal or town government where the people controlled directly their affairs. At every man's home was reserved, therefore, the greatest power which can concern him individually;

the least possible amount of interference from the general or State government was tolerated; every right given to the Federal Government was surrendered with reluctance; and every precaution taken to prevent any centralization of power, which it was found, if once permitted, would end in changing the republic to some form of centralized and irresponsible government.

In another respect our government, as designed by its founders, differs from others, and that is in the fact that the rights of States and of persons are fortified by placing the judiciary above the executive, or law-making, power. The recent action of the United States Courts in the case of the Ponca Indians, to which reference has been made, proves that this design has not wholly misconceived. But the action of the Department of the Interior in attempting to evade this decision brings to light a tendency, which is only too manifest, to elevate the executive above the judiciary,—in other words, to consolidate into one, and that one the executive, two distinct departments of the Government. This tendency could hardly fail to become more pronounced, were the control of Indian affairs to pass into the hands of the military.

This design of the fathers of the Constitution in regard to the limitations of the executive department of the Government has been for years defied by the Indian ring. The judiciary has but little influence over the Indian reservations. Difficulties among the Indians or between the Indians and the whites have been settled, when settled at all, by the executive; and too frequently by the executive in its most objectionable form. The whites steal the property of the Indians and generally escape punishment, no judicial process being able to reach them, as their neighbors, who were well disposed, left the redress to the general Government, whose wards the Indians were supposed to be. Redress failing, the Indians retaliated and, thereby, became malefactors, to be summarily dealt with by the Indian agent. Crime on the reservations was not repressed by process of law, but by the arbitrary power of the agent; and neither the Indian nor his white neighbors learned anything of the so-called majesty of the law which

restrains crime in civilized communities. Under this *régime*, the poor Indians have no redress whatever for the lawlessness committed against them by their white neighbors; while they themselves are treated as outlaws should they proceed to redress their own wrongs!

Then, as regards that fundamental policy of the republic, to make of it a government by the people for the people, this has been equally set at defiance; for in matters relating to the Indians it has been a government by the Indian ring for the Indian ring. The people immediately interested, namely, the Indians and the settlers in their vicinity, the only persons who knew all the circumstances in the cases of dispute so frequently arising—the persons especially interested in a just and amicable settlement—these have no voice in the matter. The Indian Department has been an *imperium in imperio*, responsible only to itself and in some sort to Congress: in some sort only, for it was an easy matter to prevent investigation or to conceal the facts; so that the Department was virtually irresponsible and thus able to defeat the very principle of our government, viz.: that it should be administered by the people and for the people. The Indian Department, independent of the State and territorial governments, independent of the county governments in territory adjacent to the reservations, has managed affairs on large reservations and relating to a large number of persons according to a system of its own, not determined by the law-making branch of the Government, but by the executive, that is, by the Secretary of the Interior and his assistants. Here we have a system utterly at variance with the government by which the rest of the republic is controlled, and a system which has fostered among its officials a corruption that has extended beyond these officials to Congress and the State Legislature, to the damning injury of popular government in America.

The decision of Judge Dundy, of Nebraska, in the case of the Ponca Indians, is of special importance, because it is the first case in which the judicial branch of the Government has defined the true position of the Indians, and indicates what is the true solution of the Indian problem. And that solution, so

accordant with the spirit of the Government and with common-sense, is to place under State and territorial control the Indians within the limits of the States and territories respectively. Each State or territory concerned has but a few tribes within its borders, and these closely resembling each other in habits and customs. Each individual case can thus receive such attention and consideration as the peculiar circumstances demand.

The head-quarters from which emanate the decisions respecting disputes between the two races, are then near the homes of the parties between whom trouble has arisen. Such difficulties can thus be speedily settled, before they reach proportions of such gravity as to require the aid of the military. Only a small roll of red tape need be unwound. Those immediately interested will do the governing: a thousand eyes will watch the Indian agents, of those too, vitally interested in maintaining peace, since there is life and property at stake; of those, again, who have a voice in the appointment of these agents, through the delegate whom they send to the State or territorial Legislature, and through the officers whom, in the States, they elect to office.

While the Indian problem is a complicated one, it is no more so than many others which comprehend the principle of justice between man and man, and which the people manage successfully. It may be objected that the frontier-men, whose opinions will exert the greatest influence in the settlement of questions in dispute between the reds and whites, will regard the Indian as a species of wild beast, to oppress and destroy whom is legitimate sport. Among the farmers, miners and stock-raising men and their employés along the frontier especially, are many lawless persons imbued with this idea, but they are fewer than is generally supposed; and even these few, from motives of self-interest, will desire that the Indian be rightly treated. More Indian outbreaks arise from the dishonesty and rapacity of traders, contractors and agents than from all other causes combined; and were the Indians managed by the State and territorial governments, these rapacious servants of the State would speedily be discovered by their vouchers and supporters and summarily discharged.

Self-interest, the mightiest power in the State, would necessarily dictate this result; for success in agriculture, mining and stock-raising among those living near the Indians depends in large measure on the cultivation of peaceful relations with the Indians. It is well known that much of the trouble now so common between the Indians and their white neighbors arises from the encroachment of the latter on the Indian reservations; and these encroachments are the more frequent because of the difficulty of distinguishing clearly between the reservations and other territory of the United States, open for settlement; but were these very men to have a voice in deciding upon the lands set apart for the Indians, and were themselves to participate in the act of deeding to the Indians the lands they occupy, it could not but favorably influence the state of affairs.

In all difficulties between the Indians and whites the judiciary under the present *régime* is powerless. Whites steal horses and cattle from the Indians, and the red men have no resource but to retaliate, and, once on the reservation with their booty, are comparatively secure. The white settlers have no idea of taking their grievances into court, in which the Indians have heretofore had no legal standing. The agent, so far as he can, compels the Indians to keep on the reservation and leave their white neighbors to themselves. Should he fail in this endeavor, he calls on the army for assistance. This use of the military to preserve order, the necessity of defending property by violence, itself nourishes a spirit of lawlessness, which breaks out in such terrible tragedies as the holocaust, in the spring of 1879, in Custer County, Nebraska. As we approach the Indian reservations and hunting grounds, the power of the civil authority becomes weaker, until at length it ceases altogether, superseded by that of the executive, in the persons of frontier-men, who proceed to execute for themselves what they conceive the law to be, or rather what they think it *ought* to be. Had the State full control within its limits, except in those rare instances where the military must assist in maintaining order, the judiciary would retain its power and the law would be enforced by its proper and constituted authorities.

Nor is this proposed method of dealing with the Indians an untried experiment. In many of the older States the Indians were managed by the State authorities; they were well governed, and troubles between them and their white neighbors speedily disappeared. And in one of the western territories, where dwelt tribes closely related to the Utes, with whom we have just been at war, the Mormons lived side by side with the Indians, and experienced none of the difficulties so common in other States and territories. The secret of this was the fact that agreements with the Indians were carried out to the letter, and that crimes committed by the Indians against white men, or by white men against Indians, were punished impartially, just as similar crimes between white men were punished; and the Indian learned to respect the word of his white neighbor and to believe that what he said and agreed to, he meant to perform.

The theory on which our government is based should be carried out in the west as in the east, with Indians as with white men and negroes, viz.: the management of local affairs by those immediately interested, and the supremacy of the judiciary over the executive and legislative departments. Indian affairs should be conducted as other affairs are successfully conducted. Let the control of the Indians within their borders be given to the State and territorial governments: let the annuities which the general government is pledged to pay, be disbursed by State and territorial officers; let Indian agents, traders and contractors, if any be needed—which would soon cease to be the case under the proposed management—be appointed or elected by the States and territories; let there be given to the States and territories in which the Indians reside, the entire control of the land, and let the people within their limits be subject to no interference from the general Government. Thus the influence of the judiciary will be strengthened; the spirit of the Government will pervade every citizen of its territory. Speculation will cease; the white settlers on the frontier will be protected by the same means that protect white settlers in the interior; and the Indians will be treated with more regard to justice, because it will be for

the interest of their white neighbors so to treat them, to the end that both races may be peaceful and prosperous.

Not only by the proposed method of solving the Indian problem will the Indians and the whites on the frontiers be benefited, but the whole country will share in the benefit; for apart from the reduced expenditure in consequence of an honest administration of Indian affairs and the vast saving resulting from the decline of Indian wars, the most fruitful source of the corruption so alarming in the general Government will be removed. Indian traderships and contracts are now used by Senators and government officials as rewards for the dishonorable trickery employed to secure their election and appointment. The Senator does not dare to use money directly for such a purpose, as he might be impeached for bribery; but instead of that he promises a contractor a tradership, which answers the same purpose. Of course, even under State or territorial control there may, for a time, be contracts and trading-posts; though these would disappear as the Indians were treated more like other citizens.

The aim in any method of managing the Indians, should be to make them citizens as speedily as possible, who should have their own homes, and who should engage in some form of industry, whether farming, stock-raising or other industrial pursuit. To this end they should be established in some prescribed and secure locality from which they should never be removed except at their own request. Under the present management there have been frequent removals, often to localities unhealthy and ill-adapted to the manners and customs of the tribe. The advancing tide of emigration trespasses on the old reservation and the general Government is compelled to place the Indians on a new reservation. Under State or territorial control, the people of the State or territory, having themselves assigned the land to a given tribe, would for their own sake be interested to prevent any intrusion on these lands. And the very persons who now compel a transfer of the Indians to another locality would, under the new condition of affairs, preserve the lands of the tribe from spoliation. Treated in some sort as citizens, protected in

property and person by the laws, the Indians would approximate more and more nearly to the position of citizens, and each year would remove more and more of those troubles which now end in such frightful tragedies. In the territories, where the Indians are less civilized than in the States, and more numerous than the whites, complications might occur, unknown to the State. Under such circumstances, the military might have to be invoked. But there is a vast difference between a use of the military at the request of territorial authorities and at the request of Indian agents, between military used by the people to assist their own efforts, and used by the general Government with no regard to the wishes of the citizens or the rights at issue. And even in the territories there would be less frequent call on the arm of the executive, since the people would feel themselves responsible for the management of the Indians within their borders, and would prevent many of those acts, on the part of their neighbors, which now so often lead to disastrous conflicts. Furthermore, immigration to these territories is yearly increasing, and it cannot be long ere the whites will be so numerous as to enable them to manage their own affairs without invoking the aid of the military.

If the transfer of the management of Indian affairs to territorial governments be at present impracticable because of an inadequate population in certain territories, the objection cannot be made to a transfer of them in the several States now containing reservations. In these the experiment would seem certain of success; and some of the territories, as Utah, Dakota, Wyoming and Washington, are already sufficiently populous to insure success in them, as also are Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, California and Oregon. Observation of the workings of the Indian Bureau, and of the causes of trouble between the two races, during many years' residence close to the scene of strife, has convinced us of the feasibility of our plan of dealing with the Indian problem as herein imperfectly sketched, and of the utter failure of the present management.

## ART. III.—THE ENGLISH CLASSICS.

1. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*. Par H. A. Taine. 5 Vols. Paris: 1863-65.
2. *Masterpieces of English Literature*. By H. B. SPRAGUE. London: 1874.
3. *English Writers*. Writers before Chaucer: with Introductory Sketch of the four periods of English Literature. By H. MORLEY. London: 1864.

"LET us first take the three principal productions of human intelligence—religion, art, and philosophy. What is a philosophy but a conception of nature and its primordial causes under the form of abstractions and formulas? What is there at the foundation of a religion or of an art but a conception of this same nature and of these same causes under the form of symbols more or less concise, and personages more or less marked; with this difference, that in the first place one believes that they exist; in the second, that they do not! Let one consider some of those grand creations of mind in India, Scandinavia, Persia, at Rome, in Greece, and one will see that art is a kind of philosophy become sensible, religion a poem taken for true, and philosophy an art and a religion *desséchée* and reduced to pure ideas."\* Literature is the permanent expression of these ideas.

The literature of a nation, like its religion, its philosophy, and its art, is illustrated by its progress in civilization. As the civilization of a people is largely influenced by the soil, the climate, the physical aspects of the country, and by the abundance or scarcity of the national food, so is the growth

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\* *Littérature Anglaise*.

of its literature retarded or accelerated by similar causes. All the great centres of an early civilization, as Hindostan, Egypt, Mexico, and Peru, were particularly favored by nature, in diminishing the wants of man. The mildness of the climate required but little clothing; heat and moisture—the two causes that influence the fertility of a country—prevailing, the national food was abundant and produced with little labor: consequently the population increased rapidly; labor was cheap because of the surplus of laborers; and, as the distribution of wealth was unequal, the poor were entirely at the disposal of the rich.

As the possession of wealth by a nation is indispensable to the advancement of knowledge in order that a certain class, supported by the manual labor of others, may devote itself to intellectual pursuits, these countries made, for a time, great progress in a certain direction. But the chasm was too great between the intellectual few and the ignorant many. The apparent prosperity vanished before the first adverse wind. A religion, philosophy, or literature, to be enduring, must be of the people and not the exclusive privilege of a favored few.

A country that is particularly favorable to man by readily supplying the necessities of life, is particularly unfavorable to the steady and permanent advance of knowledge. Man is enervated because of the absence of incitement to work, and never attains that perfection which crowns steady and persevering labor. Indolence is inculcated; a distaste for work becomes a part of his nature, and he lacks the strength of will to overcome this tendency. On the other hand, those countries most favorable to the attainment of a permanent and superior order of civilization, are such as are not subject to extremes of heat or cold. In Sweden and Norway, where the regular employment of the people is interrupted by the severity of the weather; and in Spain and Portugal, where they are compelled to suspend their labors on account of the extreme heat, the effect on the national character is the same, producing instability of temper. Their regular pursuits being liable to interruption, the people are rendered prone to desultory habits, and are more fitful and capricious than the inhabitants

of a more temperate climate,—lacking that impetus, the result of long-continued and uninterrupted practice, that is necessary for steady advance in knowledge. Here nature yields much less bountifully to greater and long-sustained efforts, but by this very strife man's powers are strengthened, and his wits sharpened. By the fertility of his brain he atones for nature's lack. The progress of the one is at first tardy in comparison with that of the other, but is infinitely more sure and enduring.

It is in these countries, then, which are not liable to the extremes of temperature that we find a national literature established on a solid basis. The situation of Great Britain and of the principal countries of central Europe is particularly favorable to the growth of literature. The general aspect of the surroundings does not depress man as does the sublime and threatening grandeur of India, where the startling magnitude of nature's works tends to subjugate the understanding and exalt the imagination. The natural scenery of Europe is on a smaller scale. Instead of being intimidated by it, man is encouraged; in place of being oppressed by the stupendous powers of nature, he is incited to investigate these powers because of their beneficence to him.\*

The moist climate and fresh verdure of England, with the prevalence of fogs, made their impress on the cool-blooded, blue-eyed, flaxen-haired Saxons. The climate, favorable to the pasturage of their vast flocks and herds, procured them food in abundance; and, being great consumers of flesh, the Saxons became more strongly imbued with animal instincts. But underlying those gross passions that sought relaxation in sensual pleasure—in eating, drinking and fighting—there was in the character of these Saxon progenitors of the English people a sturdy honesty, an unflinching adherence to duty, and an utter self-abnegation that prompted them to lay down their lives willingly for a chosen chief. There was, also, beneath this love for physical pleasure, a deep vein of melancholy which is observable in the modern Englishman, and in the tendency to suicide that is such a marked feature of English character. Their literature was like themselves—

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\* Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*.

bold, passionate, sensual, lacking the intellectual and spiritual element. Their ideal hero is one (as in the poem of Beowulf) who performs incredible feats, wages successful warfare with the elements, conquers sea-monsters, succors the unfortunate, defeats every enemy and reduces to subjection all turbulent factions.

The next period of English literature follows in the wake of the Norman conquest. It imports new ideas, overturning completely the previous order of things. Norman manners, customs and ideas supplant everything Saxon. During this period nothing but French and Latin literature was recognized; the English language was regarded with contempt, and only used by the meanest classes. English authors followed their conquerors' example and endeavored to express themselves in French. The crude songs of the Saxon gave place to tales of chivalry, abounding in brilliant pageants, fair ladies, brave knights, impossible voyages, marvellous adventures; in fact, the songs of the Saxon had made way for a literature belonging to childhood, a literature that appealed to the senses, revelling in gorgeous colors, fantastic images and exaggerated passions. We find Sir John Mandeville, in his *Voyage and Travaile*, relating with imperturbable gravity as an eye-witness absurd encounters and impossible scenes—interspersed with grotesque fancies and ridiculous legends. The ballads of Robin Hood, the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, belong to this epoch. Eventually, however, through the frequent intermarriages and the preponderance of Saxon blood, the Saxon element reasserts itself, and the conquerors are conquered.

Despite the incongruity of the Saxon and Norman literature, it played its rôle and was the beginning of a great end. A definite language was at last attained, and the genius of Geoffrey Chaucer dawned upon English literature. Chaucer discards the old childish method of appealing only to the senses. He endeavors to enlist the intellect, seeks to delineate character, places distinct and living personages on the scene, and devotes his attention to their consistent development. He was, as a matter of course, accompanied and succeeded by scores of imitators.

About the close of the fifteenth century a great change began to take place. The nobility emerge from their strongholds, and frequent the Court, indulge in magnificent dress, regard the elegancies of speech—in short, begin to be ambitious of a higher refinement. They begin to study the classics, to observe art. The day dawns after the terrible night of the Middle Ages, and in place of “the dolorous legends of spirits and the damned, it was a delight to see again Olympus shining upon us from Greece, its heroic and beautiful deities once more ravishing the heart of man; they raised and instructed the young world by speaking to it the language of passion and genius, and the age of strong deeds, free sensuality, bold invention, had only to follow its own bent, in order to discover in them the eternal principles of liberty and beauty.” The Pagan Renaissance resuscitates the forgotten beauty of Pagan art with much of its sensuality. The Earl of Surrey, “the English Petrarch,” introduces a new manner. He imitates the ancient classics, and aims rather at achieving beauty of expression than at a strong style. In Henry, Earl of Surrey, the classical spirit of a century later shows its commencement. Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, and others are the product of the Pagan Renaissance, a period when imagination ran riot, order was disregarded, extravagance was the rule, and rationality the rare exception. Closely following, the connecting link between the Pagan Renaissance and the classical age, came Jonson, Shakespeare and Milton. Jonson, like Surrey, was a forerunner of the English classics. From his vast and varied knowledge, his extensive acquaintance with the ancient writings, his style is formed in the classical mould. He introduced order into the chaotic state of literature; he proceeds regularly and lucidly with his subject. Of Shakespeare and Milton we have nothing to say, except that their style is unique and inimitable. They stood upon the boundary of two eras, that of the Pagan Renaissance,—which acknowledged no rule, whose growth was spontaneous, when man gave reign to his imagination, neither checking its flight nor directing its course,—and that of the Christian Renaissance, when biblical lore is substituted for mythological

legends, going hand in hand with the Reformation. Puritanical literature, austere morals, long visages, interminable prayers and exhortations were the appointed order of things. Shakespeare is the representative of one age, and Milton of the other; each stamping indelibly his impress upon his own and succeeding generations.

The classical age was the inevitable reaction against the austere puritanism of Cromwell's time, and the antithesis of the Pagan Renaissance. It is the offspring of law and order, deports itself with decorum, restrains the imagination, and disciplines the mind. It regards with indignation and contempt the enthusiastic *abandon*, the eccentricities and extravagances of the Renaissance, and endeavors to reform this disorderly state of literature. It ceases to originate and begins to criticize. It seeks to employ only the proper word in its right place, to give it its appropriate adjective, to offset it by a felicitous antithesis. It not only clips the wings of imagination, but binds them down with rules. The Pagan Renaissance is the age of genius; the classical age, that of rhetoric.

Dryden was, undoubtedly, the greatest of English classic poets, greater in genius than Pope, his distinguished disciple. Born in 1681, forty-one years before Addison and fifty-seven years before Pope, he had reached a lonely eminence before either of these illustrious names were known to the literary world. Like most of the classical, and unlike the generality of the poets of the Renaissance, he was of good family, and received a superior education; while, by inheriting a competency, he was enabled to pursue his studies methodically and uninterruptedly. The systematic habits and classical taste of the youth shaped the genius of the man. His mornings were passed in writing and reading. Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius were his favorite authors. He translated much, and for his translations was justly renowned, especially for that of Virgil. He was familiar with French authors—Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Rapin,—and was versed in English literature from Chaucer down. His afternoons were invariably spent in Will's Coffee House, the great resort of the *literati*

of the day, where he was surrounded by a bevy of admirers, who sought to profit by his rare discrimination in criticism.

Dryden found literature, especially poetry, in a very imperfect condition. The poetry of the Renaissance displayed great genius, but was the unrestrained emanations of exuberant imaginations. Its versification was devoid of order, its metre irregular, its cadences rough, and that easy flow of numbers, constituting the harmony of the modern verse, was wanting.

Dryden sought to smooth these asperities and construct his verse with an idea of beauty. He endeavored to please the ear with harmonious vocalization, and to render his rhythm easy and flowing. Poetry to him was an art, and was as much the result of study as of inspiration. He instituted taste as the criterion in the place of enthusiasm. His style was lucid, strong, and exact, excelling in lyrics, satire, translations, and imitations. But his strength did not lie in the drama. He was too fastidious to succeed in this field, where the passionate fire of inspiration is more necessary than the nice discrimination of a critic.

Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* is undoubtedly the best and strongest political satire in existence. Dr. Johnson, in his *Lives of the Poets*, considers it to comprise all "the excellence of which the subject is susceptible, acrimony of censure, elegance of praise, artful delineation of character, variety and vigor of sentiment, happy turns of language, and pleasing harmony of numbers, and all these raised to such a height as can scarcely be found in any other English composition." The poem was said to have been undertaken at the command of Charles II. Shaftesbury, dismissed from the administration, resolved to effect the exclusion of the Duke of York, the brother of Charles and heir-apparent, and to place in his stead the Duke of Monmouth, one of Charles' illegitimate sons. It required an exquisite skill to handle Monmouth in the character of Absalom, although the resemblance between the two men and their positions was striking. Monmouth was well-favored in personal appearance, popular, and the favorite son of his father. Dryden has represented him as an erring, misguided son, the unwitting tool of the evil machinations of

an unprincipled schemer. He treated Absalom tenderly out of respect to Charles' partiality, transferring the worst sins to Achitophel.

The success of this satire was unprecedented. It was published anonymously in 1681, but the authorship was soon discovered. *The Medal*, a personal satire on Shaftesbury, was published about four months after the first part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, and eight months before the publication of the second part. *The Medal* suffers but little in comparison with the former. One represents a group of figures, the other is a portraiture of a single individual; and both display the great ability of the artist.

*Mac Flecnœ*, which first suggested to Pope the idea of his *Dunciad*, was a pasquinade on Shadwell, Dryden's antagonist in literature, and is one of the most pungent satires in the English language. Mac Flecnœ was an acknowledged poetaster of the lower order, his name being synonymous with doggerel verse and stupid prose. He is represented bequeathing to Shadwell, as his only worthy successor, the sovereignty of the realms of Dulness, of which he, heretofore, had been the undisputed possessor.

" All human things are subject to decay,  
And when fate summons, monarchs must obey.  
This Flecnœ found, who, like Augustus, young  
Was called to empire, and had govern'd long.  
For prose and verse was own'd without dispute,  
Through all the realms of Nonsense, absolute.  
This aged prince, now flourishing in peace,  
And blest with issue of a large increase,  
Worn out with business, did at length debate  
To settle the succession of the State.  
And, pondering which of all his sons was fit  
To reign and wage immortal war with wit,  
Cried : 'Tis resolved ! for Nature pleads that he  
Should only rule who most resembles me.  
Shadwell alone my perfect image bears.  
Matured in dulness from his tender years ;  
Shadwell alone, of all my sons, is he  
Who stands confirmed in full stupidity.  
The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,  
But Shadwell never deviates into sense."

In the execution of *The Hind and the Panther*, Dryden exerted his utmost power, for he was to justify his conversion to Catholicism. The Hind—

“ A milk-white Hind, immortal and unchanged,  
Féd on the lawn, and in the forest ranged.  
Without unspotted, innocent within,  
She feared no danger for she knew no sin ”—

represents the Roman Church, the others of the four-footed tribes the Established Church and its dissenting branches. It was the intention of the author to justify his adoption of the Roman Catholic faith, and to this end he employed all his art and energy in argumentative poetry.

Dryden was the great pioneer in English classics, and English literature, from the Restoration to the French Revolution, bears the classical impress. This reigning mode of thought and expression is evident in all writers from the greatest to the least, from Waller to Johnson, from Hobbes and Sir William Temple to Robertson and Hume. The attainment of a perfect rhetoric was the goal towards which all were heading. Around the reign of Queen Anne formed the nucleus of the classics. For sixty years was it consummating, and during this reign the rhetorical art was perfected. M. Taine, in writing of this period, observes :

“ The style is at the same time finished and artificial. Open a book at random, Parnell or Philips, Addison or Prior, Gay or Tickell, one finds a certain turn of mind, versification, and language. Pass to the second, the same is repeated ; one would say they are copies of each other ; and to the third, the same diction, same apostrophe, same manner of posing the epithet, and rounding the period. Take them all and, save some minor personal differences, they seem to be all run in the same mould. One is a little more epicurean, another more nasal, another more satirical ; but throughout, the same noble language, oratorical pomp, and classic correctness ; the noun is always accompanied by its adjective, its chevalier of honor ; the antithesis balances the symmetrical architecture ; the verb, as in Lucan or Statius, is paraded, flanked on each side by a noun, garnished with its epithet ; one would say the verse is manufactured by machinery, it is so uniform. \* \* \* One knows beforehand what ornaments will adorn it. \* \* \* Here in like manner we see the classic art centre itself in Pope's contemporaries, and above all in Pope

himself, then to gradually become effaced, mixing with foreign elements, until it finally disappears in the succeeding poetry."\*

Swift, Addison, and, Pope, were individually the greatest satirists of their age, and totally different one from the other. Swift was the greatest genius, Addison the greatest moralist, and Pope the greatest poet. Swift's satire was of the bitter, rasping style, the result of a peculiar disposition, wrecked hopes, and stranded ambition. He jeered and railed at the existing order of society. The majority of his satirical writings were aimed at parties and the Government, while his lampoons were few in comparison. Addison's satire was of a playful ironical cast, and touched upon the foibles and follies of his time. He never descended to personalities, and was never known to retaliate on an adversary, although he was more than his match. Of a happy disposition, on the whole prosperous in life, and an acknowledged head of an admiring group of *literati*, he was never bitter nor malicious like Pope, who seemed ever bent upon avenging himself on society for nature's unkindness to him. Pope indulged in lampoons, not sparing even his most intimate friends; his satire was personal and malignant, although couched in the most elegant terms.

It was a marked epoch in English literature when these men, so conspicuous for their ability, sprung into the arena of public letters. Two out of this trio, Addison and Swift, unaided by birth or fortune, succeeded in stamping indelibly their impress on the literature and politics of their country. Beyond the simple fact that both rose solely by their own exertion, never did the natures and careers of two men diverge more widely. In genius, as this term is commonly understood, Swift was indubitably the greater; but Addison, by the full development of his powers, until checked by his premature death in his forty-eighth year, used those powers to a much better purpose. Swift has not left a single work as a worthy memorial to his name in English literature, and is one of the least read of the English classics; while Addison is now widely read and imitated, and has done much towards the shaping of

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*Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Tome III, p. 355 et seq.

the periodical literature of our own day. Swift's imagination was of the creative order; Addison's was of the constructive. The satirical writings of the former are original, and so stamped with his individuality that his works never failed recognition although flung at the public without a sign; for who, save one of his peculiar nature, blighted by continual disappointments, would have conceived such a scheme as his *Modest Proposal for Utilizing the Children of the Poor People in Ireland*, and presented it to the public with such an assumed seriousness? Swift owed little to education and everything to nature; while Addison, without certain external favorable conditions that trained and supported his mental faculties, would never have risen above the crowd (to use one of Swift's graphic illustrations) that press and squeeze and thrust with indefatigable pains to exalt themselves. But Addison made the best use of his educational advantages, and of his opportunity while abroad to observe the various conditions and study the art and literature of those countries which he visited. He stored his mind with rich materials; and, gifted with a ready power of reproduction, guided by a correct taste and an artistic love of the beautiful, he so combined and arranged his store that the results were the most effective, and lacked none of the appearance of originality. It was Addison's faculty of keen insight into human nature that made him the prince of English essayists and the father of the modern novel.

Swift was apparently devoid of artistic sensibility, and either completely ignored the beautiful, or rudely wrenched it from its exalted position, and trampled it into the dust. In vain do we search through his works for one aspiration towards the sublime, or one yearning after the infinite. His illustrations are invariably chosen from the lowest side of nature, and he continually degrades man instead of seeking his elevation, like Addison. Swift's style, were it pruned of that coarseness that exceeds the license of even that age of moral laxity, is preëminently strong and concise, never vivacious, and without ornament; while Addison always made strength subordinate to elegance. The elegant rounding of his periods, the selection and arrangement

of words so that the accent would always fall harmoniously, render Addison at times a little monotonous, and deprive his descriptions of passion of the reality that constitutes the chief strength and charm of modern fiction. His essays were the reflection of his conversation, and his conversation of his character. Combining the qualities of elegance and instructiveness, full of felicitous illustrations drawn with that quaint humor so peculiar to Addison, and being adapted to every condition of life, those essays met with a great success. Although the project of the *Spectator* originated with Steele, and many well-known writers contributed to its pages, yet its success has always been regarded as due to Addison. He touched upon every topic with an exquisite delicacy of humor, and bared the foibles and follies of the age with an inimitable irony that corrects without wounding. His style is simple, such as the most careless may readily understand; and yet it possesses an elegance that charms the most fastidious reader.

The term *genius* can be applied to Swift with more correctness than to almost any other of the English classic writers, for he possessed a certain originality and keen perception, and impressed his individuality upon everything he wrote. Swift did not discover new truths, but he understood human nature notwithstanding his apparent contempt for it. If Dr. Channing truly defined genius when he said it "is not creative in the sense of fancying or feigning what does not exist, its distinction is to discern more of truth than ordinary minds," the term is often misapplied and there is a dearth of it among English classics.

The precocity of Pope and his insatiate passion for books, especially of poetry, are well known. He versified in his baby prattle, composed between the ages of twelve and fifteen a tragedy in imitation of the *Iliad*, an ode on solitude, and an epic poem of four thousand verses, called *Alexander*. During the eight years he was shut up in the little house at Windsor, he employed his time in reading the best critics, English, French and Latin poetry, Homer and other Greek poets, sometimes in the original, and Tasso and Aristotle in translation, applying himself

with so much assiduity as to endanger his life. It was not the passions delineated in these poems that interested the young student, but never was there a greater devotee of style. His favorite among English poets was the classic Dryden, and following the advice of his early patron, Mr. Walsh, he endeavored to become the most *correct* of English poets. He translated much, appropriating to himself poetic elegancies, and storing his memory for future use. His head was a complete dictionary of happy epithets, ingenious turns, and sonorous rhythms. His *Pastorals*, composed at the age of sixteen, evince a finished elegance unsurpassed by Dryden. At twenty-one he completed his *Essay on Criticism*, which would have been creditable as the closing effort of a long career in literature.

All things conspired to make a perfect expression attainable by Pope,—the persevering application of a whole life, an exhaustive study of models, the possession of a fortune that rendered him independent of booksellers, the companionship of the best society, and a nature exempt from those troublesome passions that usually beset genius, and, consequently, never carried to excess. Glancing over the poems of Pope, we find essays, dialogues, imitations, translations, inscriptions, epitaphs, epigrams, epistles, and odes, for he was commendably industrious. His essays, didactic in nature, were so many rhymed discourses for one's edification. He chooses verse and even rhyme, he says, for two reasons,—principles, maxims, or precepts, so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first and are more easily retained by him afterwards, and he found he could express himself more tersely than in prose.\* Those essays have been universally read and admired, and, taken in detached couplets, are incomparable; but as a whole, the perfect uniformity of style renders them tedious. His ideas are never original and his philosophy, of the moderate kind, carefully avoids both extremes. His style is eminently classic, but “correctly cold,” and he is never betrayed into that poetic *abandon*, which would be so great a relief occasionally to his readers.

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\* Introduction to *Essay on Man*.

"The art of arranging words in that measure" [the heroic couplet], writes Macaulay, "so that the lines may flow smoothly, that the accent may fall correctly, that the rhymes may strike the ear strongly, and that there may be a pause at the end of every distich, is an art as mechanical as that of mending a kettle, or shoeing a horse; and may be learned by any human being who has sense enough to learn anything. But, like mechanical arts, it was gradually improved by means of many experiments and many failures. It was reserved for Pope to discover the trick to make himself complete master of it, and to teach it to everybody else. From the time when his *Pastorals* appeared, heroic versification became a matter of rule and compass, and before long all artists were on a level. Hundreds of dunces who never blundered on a happy thought or expression were able to write reams of couplets, which, so far as euphony was concerned, could not be distinguished from those of Pope, himself; and which very clever writers of the reign of Charles the Second, Rochester, for example, or Marvel, or Oldham, would have contemplated with admiring despair."\*

Dryden raised poetry to an art; Pope reduced it to a trade. The latter excelled in brilliant invective, cutting sarcasm, and was incomparable in his ability to dissect a character in rhymes sonorous and concise, offset with striking antitheses, and interspersed with the happiest similes,—but he was entirely lacking in dramatic talent. His lampoons were crushing, sparing neither friendship, age nor condition—as witness those on the Duke of Chandos, Aaron Hill, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu—and his subsequent equivocating and lying himself out of their authorship. His lines on Mr. Addison—after their final quarrel on the translation of Homer—under the name of *Atticus*, contain the most consummate irony.

"Peace to all such! But were there one whose fires  
True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires;  
Blest with each talent, and each art to please,  
And born to write, converse, and live at ease:  
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,  
Bear, like the Turk, no rival near his throne,  
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,  
And hate for arts that caus'd himself to rise,  
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,  
And, without sneering, others teach to sneer:  
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,  
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike.

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\* *Essay on Addison.*

Alike reserved to blame or to commend,  
 A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend.  
 Dreading e'en fools ; by flatterers besieg'd ;  
 And so obliging that he ne'er oblig'd.  
 Like Cato, give his little senate laws,  
 And sit attentive to his own applause :  
 While wits and Templars ev'ry sentence raise ;  
 And wonder with a foolish face of praise :  
 Who but must laugh, if such a man there be !  
 Who would not weep, if Atticus were he !"

It is not our intention to enter into the details of the quarrel between Addison and Pope further than to call attention to one or two undisputed facts. Addison was a man against whom there was never cast the slightest breath of suspicion, even by political foes. He never retaliated on his critics, although possessing the faculty of the keenest and most effective satire ; while Pope, under assumed names, was constantly maligning his most intimate associates, was suspicious of every one—suspicions often unfounded and always invincible. It is too much to expect, however, that a well-balanced mind could exist in his poor crooked body, and generous impulses generate in a hot-bed of flattery.

The gems of Pope's writings are appropriated by every school-reader, for their correctness makes them excellent models. His *Ode of the Dying Christian to his Soul*, *Universal Prayer*, extracts from his *Essay on Criticism* and *Essay on Man*, are familiar to every school-girl or school-boy. If "perfect expression" were substituted for "true wit," in the following lines, Pope's style was never so tersely described as in his own words :

" True wit is nature to advantage dress'd,  
 What oft was thought but ne'er so well express'd."

Let us take for further illustrations a few extracts from his *Essay on Man*. Where else save in Pope's writings could we find so many beauties crowded in so small a space ? Every adjective and epithet is an epitome of a whole sentence.

" Know then thyself, presume not God to scan !  
 The proper study of mankind is man.  
 Placed on this isthmus of a middle state,  
 A being darkly wise, and rudely great :

With too much knowledge for the skeptic side,  
 With too much weakness for the stoic's pride,  
 He hangs between ; in doubt to act, or rest ;  
 In doubt to deem himself a god, or beast ;  
 In doubt his mind or body to prefer ;  
 Born but to die, and reasoning but to err ;  
 Alike in ignorance, his reason such  
 Whether he thinks too little or too much ;  
 Chaos of thought and passion, all confus'd ;  
 Still by himself abused or disabused ;  
 Created half to rise, or half to fall ;  
 Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all ;  
 Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurld,  
 The glory, jest and riddle of the world !"

And,

" Remember, man, 'the Universal Cause  
 Acts not by partial, but by general laws ;'  
 And makes what happiness we justly call,  
 Subsist not in the good of one, but all."

Also,

" All nature is but art, unknown to thee,  
 All chance, direction which thou canst not see ;  
 All discord, harmony not understood ;  
 All partial evil, universal good.  
 And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,  
 One truth is clear, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT."

So long as Pope confined himself to the satirical style, and to subjects of a didactic nature he was a complete master of his pen ; but when he endeavored to enter the realms of passion he failed. His poem of *Eloïsa to Abelard* evinces the same polished diction, is as rich in happy similes and perfect rhythm, as his other poems ; but this very elaborateness robs the poem of its charm, and bespeaks more of the seclusion of the cabinet of a *littérateur* than of the unrestrained utterances of a heart-broken woman. Compare the pathetic simplicity of the unhappy Eloïse with Pope's stilted style : "Thou alone canst grieve me, thou alone canst console me or give me joy. Happier and prouder would I be as thy mistress than as the wife of an emperor. God knows I want nothing of thee save thyself. 'Tis thee alone I desire, and nothing thou couldst give me !"

" Let wealth, let honor wait the wedded dame,  
 August her deed, and sacred be her fame ;

Before true passion all those views remove ;  
Fame, wealth and honor ! what are you to love ?  
The jealous god, when we profane his fires,  
Those restless passions in revenge inspires,  
And bids them make mistaken mortals groan  
Who seek in love for aught but love alone.  
Should at my feet the world's great master fall,  
Himself, his throne, his world, I'd scorn them all !  
Not Cæsar's empress would I deign to prove ;  
No ! make me mistress to the man I love !  
If there be yet another name more free,  
More fond than mistress, make me that to thee !"

When mythological fables are ransacked for appropriate similes, when the seraphic spirits are invoked to prepare "roseate bowers, celestial palms, and ever-blooming flowers" for her reception, when "moss-grown domes with spiry turrets crown'd" are described,—in short, when a letter becomes, to use one of Taine's expressions, "a repertory of literary effects," in our admiration of the poet's ingenuity we forget the heart-rending passions of the woman, the outpouring of whose surcharged feelings we are supposed to follow.

*The Rape of the Lock* and the *The Dunciad* are Pope's masterpieces in the satirical style. *The Rape of the Lock* is a poem elevating a trifling circumstance into an affair of the direst importance. *The Dunciad* possesses little interest for the modern reader, as, being a collective satire on the poet's critics, it involves many obscure and unknown names.

Pope's only rival in English classic verse was Dryden. So far as euphony and correct versification are concerned, Pope excelled Dryden, for he was enabled by the latter's endeavors in versification to carry on that art to a greater perfection. Although Dryden did not possess much dramatic talent, in that form of composition he completely eclipsed Pope. In the satirical style, both possessed great power. Dryden used his politically, Pope personally. In lyric verse, Pope wrote nothing to be classed with Dryden's, for in this consisted Dryden's greatest strength. As a critic, the latter stands preëminent, not only among those of the classic age but among those of the succeeding one. He understood perfectly the art of composition, and expounded its rules with a force

and perspicacity that entitle him to the rank of the prince of critics. Of the two poets, however, Dryden was the greater, notwithstanding the correctness and exquisite euphony of Pope's verse, for the scope of his mind was wider, his poetic sentiment truer. To the former we owe the elevation of poetry to its present position.

Samuel Johnson, the great literary dictator, and Oliver Goldsmith, the gentle "happy-go-lucky" poet, though totally dissimilar in character, were fast friends; and there is a sort of an association between these two names in English literature, notwithstanding the opposite direction of their tendencies.

The *Rambler*, issued March 20th, 1750, and discontinued March 17th, 1752, first caused Johnson's reputation to extend beyond the literary circles of London, where he had previously gained some notoriety by his poems of *London* and the *Vanity of Human Wishes*, imitations of Juvenal. The *Rambler*, as Mr. Stephen writes, "marks the culminating period of Johnson's worst style. The pompous and involved language seems, indeed, to be a fit clothing for the melancholy reflections which are its chief staple, and, in spite of its unmistakable power, it is as heavy reading as the heavy class of lay sermonizing to which it belongs. Such literature, however, is often strangely popular in England, and the *Rambler*, though its circulation was limited, gave to Johnson his position as a great political moralist. He took his literary title, one may say, from the *Rambler*, as the more familiar title from the *Dictionary*."

At length, in 1755, his great work was completed, and his *Dictionary* was placed before the public seven years after his plan had been presented. This work placed Johnson at the head of the literary coterie of his time, and he now occupied the chair that had successively contained Ben. Jonson, Dryden and Pope.

In the evenings of a single week in January, 1759, he wrote the story of *Rasselas*, for which he received £100, and £25 for the second edition. It was widely translated and universally admired. On the succession of George the Third, Johnson was made the recipient of a pension of £300 a year.

He worked but little after his maintenance was assured, saying that "no man except a blockhead ever wrote except for money." His *Journey to the Hebrides* and *Lives of the Poets* were his only considerable efforts after he was rendered independent of booksellers. During Johnson's working days he did not produce much that can really be called *literature*. His *Dictionary*, though the result of seven years' labor, cannot be properly styled a contribution to English literature, and was fated, of course, to be superseded. Much of his other work was merely hack work and has passed into oblivion.

To speak of Johnson's peculiarities—of his intensely superstitious nature, his awkward contortions, his utter disregard for the refinements of society, his ungainly, uncouth appearance, of his unlimited circle of friends, his literary dictatorship, and his great conversational gifts, or rather brilliant monologues, abounding in dazzling flashes of wit, pointed repartees and apposite illustrations,—this seems quite superfluous.

From Johnson the mind quickly reverts to Goldsmith, and any one who has scanned the lights and shadows that made up the picture of the life of this gentle poet is ready to echo Johnson's estimate of his friend: "He had raised money and squandered it by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense. But let not his frailties be remembered; he was a very great man." Goldsmith was undoubtedly the unwitting author of many of his misfortunes from his impetuous and generous disposition, and that shy, sensitive nature that so eagerly grasped for sympathy,—that, in his nervous desire to please, made him a mark for the mud that any careless hand might spatter.

Goldsmith's reputation as one of the most tender and melodious of English poets rests on *The Traveller*, *The Deserted Village*, and that "prose idyll" *The Vicar of Wakefield*. The last-mentioned work evinces all the quaint humor of the author; and the exquisite simplicity and *naïveté* of the good old vicar's narrative, with its delicate touches of real life, deservedly render it one of the most popular works in the English language. The sweet melody of the bard's verses, with their harmonious rhythms combined with the true

sentiment of poetry which was beginning to glimmer over English verse, is much more pleasing than the studied elegance of the greater classics.

*The Deserted Village* is one of the sweetest representations of a village and village life in the English language. Sweet Auburn—

“ When smiling Spring its earliest visits paid,  
And parting Summer's lingering bloom delayed;”

with

“ The hawthorn bush with seats beneath the shade,  
For talking age and whispering lovers made;”

and that exquisite portrait of the village preacher :

“ A man he was to all the country dear,  
And passing rich with forty pounds a year,  
Remote from towns he ran his godly race,  
And never changed nor wished to change his place,  
Unskilled he was to fawn or seek for power  
By doctrines fashion'd to the varying hour.  
Far other aims his heart had learn'd to prize,  
More bent to raise the wretched, than to rise.

\* \* \* \* \*

Pleased with his guests, the good man learned to glow  
And quite forgot their vices in their woe :  
Careless their merits or their faults to scan,  
His pity gave ere charity began.  
Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,  
And e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side.”

The humorous descriptions of the village school-master and of the village inn are excellent, and also the simple pleasures of the villagers, which

“ With sweet succession taught e'en toil to please.”

But, alas !

“ Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,  
Thy sports are fled and all thy charms withdrawn !  
Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,  
And desolation saddens all thy green :  
One only master grasps the whole domain,  
And half a tillage stints thy smiling plain.”

The charm of Goldsmith's writings lies in their simplicity. He indulges in none of the poetic novelties of Pope, never dazzles by new and unexpected combinations, and never

resorts to startling metaphors; nevertheless his poems are replete with imagery, as in the two following examples:

- " But in his duty prompt at every call  
 He watch'd and wept, he pray'd and felt for all;  
 And as a bird each fond endearment tries,  
 To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,  
 He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,  
 Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."  
 \* \* \* \* \*
- " As some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,  
 Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,  
 Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,  
 Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

These illustrations of Goldsmith's are drawn from everyday life. His imagery and language are always exquisitely simple, and are consistent with his subject, pathetic but forcible.

*Rasselas* and *The Vicar of Wakefield* are representative works of these two men. Let us linger a little over them. Imlac, in *Rasselas*, tells us that "human life is everywhere a state in which much is to be endured and little to be enjoyed;" while the good vicar, after having been reduced from affluence to comparative poverty, observes: "In this manner we began to find that every situation of life might bring its own peculiar pleasures; every morning awaked us to a new repetition of toil, but every evening repaid it with vacant hilarity." Imlac again says: "Be not too hasty to trust or to admire the teachers of morality; they discourse like angels, but they live like men." "The world which you figure to yourself smooth and quiet as the lake in the valley, you will find a sea foaming with tempests and boiling with whirlpools; you will sometimes be overwhelmed by waves of violence, and sometimes dashed against the rocks of treachery. Amidst wrongs and frauds, competitions and anxieties, you will wish a thousand times for these seats of quiet, and willingly quit hope to be free from fear." Also the Princess Nekayah: "Every hour confirms my prejudice in favor of the position, so often uttered by the mouth of Imlac, that nature sets her gifts on the right hand and on the left. Those conditions which flatter hope and attract desire, are so constituted that as we approach one we recede from the other. There are goods

so opposed that we cannot seize both, but, by too much prudence, we may pass between them at too great a distance to reach either. This is often the fate of long consideration; he does nothing who endeavors to do more than is allowed to humanity. Flatter not yourself with contrarieties of pleasure. With the blessings set before you be content. No man can take the fruits of Autumn while he is delighting his scent with the flowers of Spring; no man can at the same time fill his cup from the source and from the mouth of the Nile."

The vicar with his unfailing courage and faith still looks upward, though sorely burdened with trouble, and in sickness, in hunger, and in prison, still exhorts those around him to count their blessings and not their misfortunes. "O, my children, if you could but learn to commune with your own hearts, and know what noble company you can make them, you would little regard the elegance and splendor of the worthless. Almost all men have been taught to call life a passage and themselves the travellers. The similitude still may be improved when we observe that the good are joyful and serene, like travellers that are going toward home; the wicked but by intervals happy, like travellers that are going into exile."

There is certainly a spirit of broad liberality and catholicity displayed by the vicar:

"We should then find that creatures whose souls are held as dross only wanted the hand of a refiner; we should then find that creatures now stuck up for long tortures lest luxury should feel a momentary pang, might, if properly treated, serve to sinew the state in times of danger; \* \* \* that few minds are so base that perseverance cannot amend, that a man may see his last crime without dying for it, and that very little blood will serve to cement our security."

The fame of the plurality of English classical writers rests chiefly on the moral character of their works. English people demand a great deal of lay sermonizing even of the heaviest order. On this account Swift is not a very popular author, for he was more of a politician than a moralist. Addison won his enviable position in letters by the *Spectator*, Pope by his didactic poems, Johnson by his *Rasselas* and

*Rambler*, Goldsmith by his *Deserted Village* and the *Vicar of Wakefield*, Gray, Akenside, Young, and others, by their Christian meditations on life and death. Addison's method of teaching was the most effective, for he adapted his lessons to every condition of life. His was an intensely religious nature, but not superstitious like Johnson's; he was a true humanitarian, and the object of his life seemed to be to aid his fellow men. We find in the *Spectator* none of that dry, heavy moralizing so noticeable in the *Rambler*, and none of Johnson's pessimism. Addison recognized the love of good in mankind and sought to strengthen it, while Johnson, burdened with the sense of the universality of evil, sought to lessen that evil.

Pope indulged in a comfortable sort of philosophy, believing that "whatever is, is right;" that all things are exactly as they were ordained, and as man is powerless to effect any change either for good or for evil, he is foolish to attempt it; that the Omniscient, if dissatisfied with the order of things, will alter that order to his own pleasure. His moral essays are principally an exposition of Bolingbroke's philosophy; the remainder of his writings is of an eclectic style, picking up here a little and there a little, and inconsistent at times. We see the fatalist, the pantheist, etc., in turn, and we fear that Pope concerned himself more about his expression than his philosophy:

"Then say not man's imperfect, Heaven in fault:

Say rather, man's as perfect as he ought:

His knowledge measured to his state and place,

His time a moment, and a point his space.

If to be perfect in a certain sphere,

What matter, soon or late, or here or there?"

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,

Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;

That, changed through all, and yet in all the same,

Great in the earth, as in the ethereal frame;

Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,

Glow in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;

Lives through all life, extends through all extent,

Spreads undivided, operates unspent;

Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,

As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;

As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns,

As the rapt seraph that adores and burns;

To him no high, no low, no great, no small ;  
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all." \*

In a letter to the Bishop of Rochester, Pope summarily disposes of his politics and religion. "In my politics," he writes, "I think no farther than how to preserve my peace of life in any government under which I live, nor in my religion, than to preserve the peace of my conscience in any church with which I communicate. I hope all churches and all governments are so far of God as they are rightly understood and rightly administered; and when they are or may be wrong, I leave it to God alone to mend or reform them, and whenever he does, it must be by greater instruments than I."

Surrounding the chair of the great Cham, were a group of poets and novelists who were on the out-going wave of classicism. The novelists of the eighteenth century were moulded from the classical model. Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, Mme. D'Arblay, DeFoe, Sterne, Mackenzie, Sheridan, were the principal delineators of character; and although shocking the modern sense of delicacy (Mme. D'Arblay least of all), their works were eagerly sought after. Mrs. Aphra Behn, Mrs. Manley, and Mrs. Haywood, enjoyed the peculiar distinction of writing the most immoral novels in the English language. Richardson's celebrated novels, *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*, which were read with such avidity by a past generation, and so affected the sensibilities of their readers that they could not see the print for tears; Fielding's *Tom Jones*, *Joseph Andrews*, *Amelia*; Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle*, *Humphrey Clinker*—all except *Sir Charles Grandison*—abound in libidinous intrigues, in infamous plots against innocent girlhood. The style is heavy, though some of the scenes are powerfully drawn, and they possess little interest for the modern reader, save in their character of being the progenitors of the modern English novel—that now important feature of literature—and as showing us how some of the leisure hours of our ancestors were beguiled.

Of the poets there was Macpherson, a Scotchman, the

\* *Essay on Man*.

author of the *Ossian*, a Homeric effort, being an assemblage of fragmentary legends and picturesque images set off with an abundance of rhetoric. There were the sentimental poets, Gray, and Akenside, both disciples of the exalted Greek style. The odes of the one and the reflections of the other bespeak something more than the artificial style of the former generation, in their sweet melancholy and exquisite sentiment. There were Glover, Watts, Shenstone, Smart, and many others with their serious reflections and Christian meditations; and Young, who, losing his wife and children, profited by his misfortune and wrote his *Night Thoughts*, being meditations on life, death, and immortality. The sentiment is a little morbid, but there are rich gleams of thought throughout them. There are the historians, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, whose elegance of taste, language, and style is irreproachable, whose sentiments are liberal, moderate and impartial, but who evince little sympathy with their subject—their manner being as polished and brilliant as an icicle glittering under the rays of the sun—and as cold.

But the classical mantle is being gradually discarded to satisfy the wants of a larger class than the titled patrons of literature—to reappear occasionally, indeed, and to be worn gracefully by Campbell, Macaulay and Bulwer, of the modern age. The time came when the people began to crave intellectual food. Something more was demanded than classic correctness. The spirit of inquiry was rife; consequently authors were rendered more independent, and they pushed forward in newer fields and instituted a boldness of investigation that was impossible when their success depended upon the patronage of the rich and titled individuals, whose prejudices and hobbies were to be pampered, their reward being in proportion to the adulations contained in the dedication. Now that the people were beginning to take an interest in literature, and the success of authors depended upon the appreciation of the general public, the pedantic method, with its cumbrous language, long involved sentences and “stately march and difficult evolutions,” was naturally discarded, and a style employed that adapted itself to the average

sense and met that spirit of inquiry that was beginning to agitate every class. New ideas, presented in a pleasant and wholesome manner, were demanded in place of worn-out notions, be their garnishing never so elegant or magnificent.

If one takes a retrospective glance of the modern classical writers, one finds that nothing truly original resulted from their labors. Their age was one of imitation, first of the ancient classics, then of one another. Originality, beyond that requisite for the mere placing of words for a harmonious effect, was lacking. If poetry does not consist in mere metrical composition, as J. S. Mill wrote,\* and possesses a peculiarity that exists in prose as well as verse, in music, painting, sculpture and architecture; if poetry is "impassioned truth," or "man's thoughts tinged with his feelings," and "is feeling confessing to itself in moments of solitude, embodying itself in symbols which are the nearest possible representation of the feeling in the exact shape in which it exists in the poet's mind," and is distinguished from eloquence which has many of the characteristics of poetry, inasmuch that the former supposes an audience and is addressed to its sympathies, and the latter is the communing of the soul with itself, and might be said to be *over-heard*—then we look in vain for poetry in much of the studied elegance in classical verse.

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\* *Discussions and Dissertations*. Vol. I. Essay on *Poetry*.

## ART. IV.—THE HYGIENE OF WATER.

No substance in nature with which one is so familiar, is invested with a more peculiar interest than water. No substance has more excited the curiosity of scientific men in all ages nor so long baffled their powers of comprehension and analysis, as water. And well it might do all this. No substance is so widely diffused; none more essential to organic life; none so strangely interwoven with the fabric of all material things, as water. Nor does any substance exist in such variety of forms, nor undergo such mysterious metamorphoses, as water. At a temperature of 32° Fahr., it is as solid as flint and as transparent as crystal; at a temperature of 33° Fahr., it is the perfection of a limpid substance, possessing solvent properties more general and characteristic than any known liquid; at a temperature of 212° Fahr., it is a gas of exceeding rarity, possessing less than half the weight of common air, having increased its volume in becoming gaseous seventeen hundred times.

Water is associated with the grandest phenomena in nature. On the earth, it collects in deep fountains and forms huge courses and little streamlets. In the air, it exists in every degree of vaporous density, from insensible dew to mists so dense and dark as to obscure the light of the sun. In the heavens the same vapor forms clouds of great variety and beauty, producing, in conjunction with wind and sunshine, phenomena so strange, so profound and imposing as to awaken in the reflective mind the deepest sense of the beautiful and the sublime.

Water has ever been an object of profound study and curiosity. Thales taught that water was the "first and fontal element" of all material things; and he was not far from

right. In his system of physics,—if system it could be called—water was one of the original elements, earth, fire and air being the other three,—God, “the intelligence by which all things are formed out of water.”\* It was so regarded until Galileo’s day, when the suspicion began to arise in the minds of men that it possessed a composite nature, Von Helmont, the alchemist, claiming that it could be transformed to rock. In this opinion, however, he was mistaken; the rock which he found on evaporating water being the *residua* left behind, and which had been held in solution by it. Thus the nature of this strange substance continued to baffle the ingenuity of discoverers until about a century ago, when it yielded up its secret to the genius of James Watt, the inventor of the steam-engine, and, also, about the same time to that of two other distinguished chemists and discoverers, Cavendish and the renowned but lamented Lavoisier.

Water, then, is not a simple element, chemically speaking, but a composite substance. It is composed of equal parts by weight of oxygen and hydrogen; the former being the oxidizing element of the air and the chief supporter of combustion; the latter a gas of maximum rarity and the most inflammable of any known gas. Its combustion by oxygen forms a most stable compound, viz.: water.

Water contributes largely to every fabric and compound in nature, organic or inorganic. In all organic substances it is the chief element, and in many of them it is the principal ingredient. Some of the amphibious order of creatures—the medusæ, for example—are composed of 99-100ths water. In general, it may be said that the higher and more complex the function of an organic compound, the greater is the proportion of water in its constitution. The most delicate flowers and fruits are composed mostly of water; and brain and nerve are formed chiefly of water. The material substrate of the mighty intellect of an Aristotle, a Franklin or a Kant is chiefly water. The blood of every man is four-fifths water. It has been estimated that a man whose weight is 154 pounds is made up of 116 pounds of water and only 38 pounds of dry, earthy

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\* Cicero’s *De Naturâ Deorum*. Book I.

matter! Let us, therefore, increase our respect and consideration for water—pure, sparkling water—since our bodies and brains are little else beside that element; and since, also, no life or beauty could exist anywhere without its limpid agency. If the elements of the blood furnish a key to determine the kind of diet most suitable for man, surely water is more important than the oil of cod's liver or the elixir of bark and iron, and fruits and vegetables are greater desiderata than the grains and flesh.

Water is a universal solvent. In this respect it is superior to all known substances. There is no substance in nature that can wholly resist its dissolving properties. It is this property of water that renders it of peculiar interest in therapeutics and hygiene. Its power to cleanse rests chiefly upon its capacity to dissolve and absorb extraneous elements. The bath, therefore, derives its chief efficacy from the dissolving agency of water. The purity of the air, likewise, depends largely upon it. The sweetness, health and comfort of our homes and highways, towns and cities, have all a close dependence upon the cleansing properties and powers of this marvellous agent.

One can have no difficulty, therefore, in tracing the connection between a pure and copious water-supply and the conditions of good health. This very property of water to dissolve and absorb, so wise in design, so beneficent in result, becomes a sort of evil when ignorantly ignored or practically disregarded. The wants of the animal system require pure fresh water; water that has not already taken to itself its full of filthy débris; water that has not already exhausted its cleansing powers; water that has not dissolved quite all that it is capable of dissolving. But this is not all. Water for dietetic and physiological purposes requires a certain amount of atmospheric air diffused through or held suspended in it. Without air, water is flat, insipid, dead. Boiled water is an example of this condition. Nor is this all. Water requires the touch of the solar ray to fit it for human use. Sunlight adds some element or quality, or exerts some peculiar influence by which its vital property is enhanced. These are indispensable requisites of water for physiological uses; the absence of

them is parent of many evils usually attributed to the freaks of a malevolent agency.

There are various chemical tests for detecting impurities in water, but the most practical, as well as the most reliable, are those of taste and smell. Pure water is odorless and tasteless. Water possessing either taste or odor should be rejected as improper for drinking purposes—the odor especially indicating a superabundance of organic matter. The *temperature* of drinking water is, also, a matter for consideration. It should not be too cold nor too warm. Water of a temperature between 40° and 60° Fahr. is probably most suitable. It should be as free of chemical compounds as possible. On this point, however, the weight of authority leans to a different conclusion. The following views of Dr. Gautier, a French physician and writer, contain the average sense on this subject :

“As the water introduces not only oxygen and hydrogen into the system in proportions necessary to form water, but also such mineral substances, in solution, as are indispensable to life, it will be readily understood that absolutely pure water is not suited for the sustenance of life. There must, however, be a limit to the quantity of such foreign ingredients, under the penalty of injury to the health. Of these ingredients, carbonate of lime is the most common, and of this there may be, without inconvenience, 10-100ths to 20-100ths of a gramme to the litre. An appreciable percentage of phosphate of lime renders the water unfit for domestic and industrial uses; and for general purposes there should not be a greater percentage than 2-100ths to 5-100ths of a gramme to the litre. Small percentages of the chlorides generally affect water disadvantageously for drinking purposes. The maximum, however, should be 8-100ths to 10-100ths of a gramme to the litre. The presence of organic matter in waters has been considered one of the principal causes of any injurious qualities they may possess; to their presence being attributed the development of such diseases as diarrhoea, dysentery, intermittent fever, typhoid fever, etc. The organic residue should never amount to more than 2-100ths to 5-100ths of a gramme to the litre.”

With all due deference to the views of M. Gautier, we maintain that the amount of organic or other residue in water for domestic purposes should never exceed the smallest fraction of a gramme to the litre.

One would suppose from the manner in which many

medical men write on this subject, that pure water is of the least possible consequence to the human family. The following curious paragraph, in illustration of the fact, is from Dr. Edward Smith's recent work on *Food*: "Nitrates and nitrites, perhaps in every proportion, but certainly in any quantity beyond a trace, must be derived from animal and vegetable matters, and so far excite a suspicion of their injurious qualities. It is, however, a noticeable fact, that many good and healthful (!) drinking waters contain much of these substances, and hence, however harmful be their origin, they are themselves harmless." That is a strange paradox, surely. How does the writer *know* that they are harmless? Are all substances to be considered harmless that do not produce immediate toxical effects? "This results," continues he, "from the oxidising process through which they have passed in their course through the strata of the earth, so that they have become medicines rather than poisons, or useless rather than noxious (!) Their presence is not, therefore, of great moment, although their absence might be more desirable" (p. 284). "Medicines rather than poison." Indeed! What can be the author's distinction between medicine and poison? He seems oblivious of the fact that "*Ubi virus, ibi virtus*" is a time-honored maxim in therapeutics. Drug-agents are medicinal because they are poisonous. The secret of their power to impress the nervous centres morbidly is that of their therapeutic agency, these different and opposite effects being due to the different and opposite conditions in which the same medicinal, or poisonous agent, is used.

It is an error to suppose that water is improved by the extraneous elements which it so generally holds in solution. As a medicine, such waters may possess a specific value in special and well-defined cases; but as an element of hygiene, or for hygienic purposes, their value is depreciated in precise ratio to the amount of extraneous substances with which they are impregnated. We cannot too severely reprobate, therefore, the general use of mineral waters, the trade in which has become a source of enormous revenue to a class of people who have no aim but to batten on the credulity of the public—

quacks and nostrum-venders, who pander to ignorance and perversity—for the greed of gain. All waters of that class—waters impregnated with the earthy salts and alkaloids—like medicine, are vile. Their indiscriminate use cannot but be a cause of disorder to both body and mind. We would plead for water pure and simple—water free from factitious elements, just as it is formed in the laboratory of nature; rain water, condensed from dew, or distilled from the clouds; spring water, filtered through strata of sand, fresh from nature's perennial fountains; sparkling water, that courses in tortuous streamlets over beds of rock and pebble, exposed to air and sunlight from which it has absorbed its full of radiant forces. While water from these sources is not as pure as one could wish, or as the demands of a high order of existence require, it comes as near to one's ideal of pure water as is practicable in the present imperfect condition of terrestrial things. Water of this character—water as pure as soft spring water—however, will suffice. It needs no mumbled mockery of priests, or touch of pious hands, to make it holy. It comes to us already blessed, laden with ethereal qualities drawn from the sky and air; qualities that, while they are of too subtle and imponderous a character to be weighed or measured, or otherwise estimated by any tests at present available, are yet of potent influence in the economy of life and indispensable to the well-being of sentient creatures.

A brief glance at some of the extraneous matters that are found in waters of general use, but which are regarded of more than average purity—matters wholly inimical to organic life—will suffice to satisfy the most sceptical of the importance of this subject from a hygienic point of view. There is a great difference in the quality of the water in different sections of the country, of course. Brooklyn water is one of more than average purity. Just look at a glass of it—the purest water on the planet, as Brooklyn people say! It is clouded with sand, perhaps,—it commonly is. Let that settle, and hold the glass up to the sunlight; numberless particles and threads of decayed and decaying vegetable matter are observed suspended in the fluid; and he who applies the

microscopic test to a drop of it, would lose at once whatever delight he may have had in quenching his thirst with it. Croton water is no better—indeed it is not as good. Besides the products of vegetable disintegration, which dim its transparency, there are more than traces of the earthy salts which it holds in solution, and which impair its sanitary virtues. These impurities are slight, however, in comparison with those the microscope reveals. That little tell-tale instrument brings into clear view numerous infusoria of various sizes and shapes, some of which appear, under the magnifying glass, large enough to choke any throat of ordinary capacity. An infinite number of sporules, also, swell the number of the inhabitants of the best waters and add an element of scientific interest to it for the microscopist. The ovules of a few species of insects likewise exist in them, the animal of which only leaves its mother-element when fully hatched. The horrid mosquito may be cited as an example. But it is needless to linger upon these examples of water, which are pure only in comparison with the waters of mineral springs, cisterns and surface wells, which, until modern times, were everywhere in common use. If the purest water that it is possible to obtain in the earth contains sufficient organic matter to support fishes, turtles, and other amphibious animals of visible proportions, what shall we think of the condition of the water of cisterns and surface wells, which ninety-nine-hundredths of the human family must either drink or go forever dry?

No water distilled by natural processes can be more than approximately pure. Its powerful solvent properties forbid its ever justifying its chemical formula— $H^2O$ . If it percolate through the soil, it dissolves in its course the earthy salts and alkaloids, and the various organic remains which the soil contains; if it form courses upon the earth's surface, and run in murmuring brooks through mountain gorges, or form deep channels and veins beneath the earth, it takes up large portions of minerals and other ingredients of the soil in its tortuous way; or, if it be distilled from the clouds of heaven and caught in clear pellucid rain-drops, it may, indeed, be free of gross inorganic matter, but it has absorbed in its way, ammonia,

nitric acid, carbonic acid, and other gases, besides taking to itself a multitude of strange creatures which exist in the air, the products of every form and condition of life, which find in water a convenient nidus for transformation and development. Wherever it be found, or in whatever practicable condition it be obtained, it cannot unfortunately be otherwise than that water should be largely impregnated with things foreign and prejudicial to human life. As the evil is infinitely augmented in water that is stale, or confined in caverns shut out from sunlight and pure air, too great care cannot be exercised in securing, for human uses, water as free from extraneous elements as possible.

The ideal on this subject is, as we have observed, pure water, water uncontaminated with ponderable elements of any kind or from any source; and if water of this degree of purity be unattainable, we can, at least, make it our endeavor to attain it. The condition of the public health is therefore closely identified with the quality of water in public use. How frequently one hears of tourists having to leave certain sections of country resort because the water disagrees with them! In certain of the southern States, the water is so foul as to be completely amorphous. An unacclimated person who declines to make use of the customary antidote—whiskey—is most certain to be stricken with diarrhoeas, or fevers—sometimes with both. The whiskey probably destroys or renders innocuous the millions of bacteria with which such waters are largely impregnated.

There is a growing suspicion that impure water is the chief source of typhoid fever. The experience of Boston furnishes a reasonable basis for such an opinion. Previous to the introduction of Cochituate water, its population drew their supply of water directly from the wells which receive the soakings of the soil and surface filth. During that time, typhoid fever was a continual scourge among her population, and one of the most prominent causes of her high rate of mortality. New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn and other cities, have had a similar experience—the *débris* of organic life being absorbed by the water of surface wells, and thus

finding free access to the systems of its hapless victims. The thought of it excites qualmishness; but no imaginary representation is adequate to reproduce a true picture of the horrid reality. This may be discovered to some extent in the mortuary returns.

A recent report of "The Medical Department of the Local Government Board" (London) furnishes some interesting facts in this connection. We quote a paragraph:—"At Terling Place ten persons were attacked with enteric [typhoid] fever, and all these persons, and these only of a large family, drank water from a particular well into which it was discovered that a cesspool leaked. At Dicken-Bonnet, in Essex, a certain well was polluted, and out of eighty-eight drinkers from that well forty-two persons were attacked [with the disease]. At Nunnery, a village in Somersetshire, having a population of eight hundred and fifty-two, Dr. Ballard records seventy-six cases of enteric fever as occurring in four months. The cases were limited in a remarkable way to families who obtained their water supply from a small rivulet which received the sewage of several houses up stream. At Hawkesburg Upton, in Gloucestershire, a village of six hundred and fifty-seven inhabitants, within a short period, ninety-five cases and fourteen deaths from enteric fever occurred in groups following the excessive pollution of different wells in the village. Banbage, a village in Leicestershire, as recorded by Dr. Gwynne Harries, had an outbreak of enteric fever from the same cause last year. No one took the fever in the village except persons who certainly, or presumably, drank water from a particular pump; and every house supplied from that pump was subject to infection." These facts are highly significant, and point to no uncertain conclusion.

Apropos of typhoid fever, Sir William Guy (London), in a recent lecture on that disease at Guy's Hospital, argued that "the disease is as preventable as ague, and that the time will come when deaths from it will be as rare." He says it is caused by a virus of nature, which may get into the healthy body, increase in it, and destroy it. It is an accidental condition, and

not one of the ordinary processes of nature. The origin of the disease is somehow or other connected with drainage; it has, therefore, been called the filth fever, and to get rid of the filth is to get rid of the fever. And he insists that "no one can approach a case of typhoid fever without paying some attention to hygiene," rightly claiming that hygiene is of the greatest importance; and with it he would "prefer to carry any one through the disease by wines and soups and fresh air, rather than by the use of drugs"—a doctrine which now meets with very general acceptance by the medical profession in all civilized countries.

Dr. Parkes, in his erudite work on *Practical Hygiene*, cites many instances from various sources of the production of enteric fever by the use of impure water; and while neither he nor any other observer believes impure water to be the only source of that disease, yet most observers agree in the opinion that impure water is a most prolific cause of it. He mentions the outbreak of typhoid fever which occurred at Munich in 1860, at the convent of the Sisters of Charity, in which thirty-one persons of one hundred and twenty were attacked with that disease, between the 15th of September and the 4th of October following. The cause was traced to wells impregnated with much organic matter (and among other things typhoid dejections), and containing nitrates and lime. On the cessation of the use of the water the fever ceased.

Two years later, or in 1863, a severe epidemic of the same fever occurred in the same city among the soldiers, which was likewise traced to the use of water impregnated with fecal matter. "On ceasing to use the water the disease disappeared." In 1865, also, "a very remarkable outbreak of typhoid [fever] occurred at Baths, in Scotland, and was traced to drinking water contaminated with sewage. In 1865, typhoid fever broke out in a girls' school at Bishopstoke, near Southampton, and was traced unequivocally to the bursting of a sewer pipe in the well. The water was disagreeable both to taste and smell. Seventeen or eighteen persons were affected out of twenty-six or twenty-eight. Several very striking instances are recorded in Mr. Simons' *Reports* by Drs. Seaton, Buchanan

and Thorne; and in some of these cases analyses of the water were made, which showed it to be impure, and to contain organic matters from sewage. "A very good case," continues Dr. Parkes, "at the Garnkirk works in Glasgow, is recorded by Dr. Perry. Dr. De Renzy, the Sanitary Commissioner of the Punjab, has also published a remarkable paper on the extinction of typhoid fever in Milbank prison, and shows, from statistics of many years, that the fever has entirely disappeared since the use of Thames water was given up. The disappearance was coincident with the change in the water-supply. Two excellent cases are recorded by Dr. Clifford Albutt, and one by Dr. Wohlrab, which are free from ambiguity. Another clear case is recorded by Dr. Latham. Typhoid fever was introduced into a village and spread by the agency of contaminated water."\*

Dr. Parkes thinks the evidence not conclusive as to which is the greater source of typhoid disease, foul air, or impure water. But it seems to me the decision of such a question is not important. The evidence which he brings forward amply supports the conclusion at which he arrives, namely, that the disease may be soonest engendered by impure water; "two or three days only elapsing before the symptoms are marked."

The author is of the opinion that "a very sudden and localized outbreak, of either typhoid fever or cholera, is almost certainly owing to introduction of the poison by water."† And he likewise associates many of the most fatal maladies of Christendom with the use of impure water. "Although," he observes, "it is not at present possible to assign to every impurity in water its exact share in the production of disease, or to prove the precise influence on the public health of water which is not extremely impure, it appears certain that the health of a community always improves when an abundant and pure water is given; and, apart from this actual evidence, we are entitled to conclude, from other considerations, that an abundant and good water is a sanitary necessity."‡

The essential poison in all these epidemics of typhoid

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\* *Practical Hygiene*, pp. 46, 47.

† *Ibid.*, p. 56.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

fever appears to be associated with bacteria, an alga which is known to be numerously developed in the waters of surface wells, sewage, sinks, and stagnant pools. Indeed, microscopists are well acquainted with several varieties of them; and quite recently the eminent German microscopist, Dr. Frederick Cohn, has discovered a new alga in well-water at Breslau, Germany, which he has named *crenothrix polyspora*.\*

The growing knowledge of etiological causes tends strongly to implicate this source as the chief fountain of the virulent fevers and miserable cachexias which have for their proximate cause the horrid reality of blood-poisoning. "The induction is strikingly confirmed in the history of typhoid fever and dysentery in the city where the writer lived and practised during the earlier part of his professional career. Before the introduction of water from the country rivulets, and a thorough system of street sewerage, both of these diseases, with the added one of diphtheria, were alarmingly prevalent in the beautiful city of Newburgh and its suburbs. It was a matter of grave surprise among its inhabitants that a town so beautifully located, so high above the river, with such rare advantages for drainage, as its hill-side position afforded, should not be the most salubrious spot on earth. But at the period of which we are writing (1860) the water was supplied by wells and the collections of those infernal cavernous pits called cisterns, of which no house was then regarded complete that had not, at least, one. There was absolutely no drainage except that afforded by the hill-side and the possible cesspool from the house sink. To this disability must be added the old, time-honored graveyard in the centre of the village, around which the inhabitants thickly settled, its position being a convenient plateau at a considerable elevation, and, at the same time, easily accessible to the ferry, steamboats, cars, etc. Of course, numerous wells supplied the water of the neighborhood, many of which were in close proximity to the iniquitous graveyard referred to. And even now, within a few yards of that 'city of the dead,' stands a public pump in active

\* *Quarterly Journal Microscopic Science*, April, 1873.

demand among people of a certain sort, the water from it being cooler in warm weather than that from the hydrant, and possessed of some other unexplainable qualities which endear it to the palate of these people. To what extent the soakings of the graveyard with its crumbling tenements were concerned in giving the palatable flavor to the beverage it is, of course, impossible to say with any degree of precision; but it was never possible for us to ignore the suspicious connection altogether, nor to doubt that the relation of the two was that of cause and sequence." \*

Meanwhile those infectious diseases, diarrhœa and dysentery, were fatally rife in the Summer months, and typhoid fever equally so in the Spring and Autumn. Indeed, there are few old inhabitants in that city who have not gone through a regular siege of those maladies; while many members of the community, of every grade and condition, have succumbed to their ravages. The most fatal prevalence of the disorders was in the immediate neighborhood of the old cemetery referred to, extending eastward to the streets below and southward to the affluent settlements. In each of these localities the mysterious visitations of typhoid Providence were of frequent and fatal occurrence, attacking doctors and their clients indiscriminately. The introduction of pure water, closing up old wells and cesspools and their allied iniquity—cisterns—and the construction of ample sewerage, have measurably dissipated those diseases from that city; and Newburgh may now justly claim a high place among the wholesome districts of the continent. The sanitary improvements, however, did not reach the antiquated graveyard. That is still retained in its midst, a pet infection, which the worship of memories holds too sacred for removal or molestation. It is impossible, however, to withstand the conviction that it is a serious offence against the physical welfare of the city. Indeed, we are fully persuaded that as long as we depend upon the distillations of the earth for a water-supply, whether by well or streams, the prevalent method of disposing of the remains of

\* Cited from the author's article in the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW for December, 1873, entitled *Responsibility of Government for the Public Health*.

the dead is a mischievous one. The cemetery and graveyard must be a source of impurity to both air and water, and a serious depravation of the public health. In regard to the plague that devastated Persia in 1872, we saw it stated that "the commission which was organized for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the plague which for so long a period ravaged certain provinces in Persia, attribute the source of the poison to caverns in the earth in which those who died of the plague forty years ago were buried, and which caverns have recently been reopened. The present plague commenced almost immediately upon the opening of these caverns. One of the persons first seized had been engaged in this work, and is said to have disinterred a quantity of human bones; another person, who likewise had removed some bones from one of these caverns, was also attacked. The plague, thus begun, spread from these sources as a nucleus; and from other facts, gathered by the commissioners, they decided that this was the real origin of the disease."\*

Similar observations have been made by many writers, and the most sceptical individual cannot fail to find corroborative evidence of the evil of interring the dead in all our populous towns and cities. Naturally enough, the evil is more manifest in the Old World than in the New. In England, Mr. Chadwick's "Report on Interments in Towns," and the "Report on Intramural Sepulture," of the General Board of Health (1850), show "that in church-yards thickly crowded with dead [bodies] vapors are given off which, if not productive of any specific disease, yet increase the amount both of sickness and mortality. In some instances this may be from contamination of the drinking water; but in other cases, as in the houses bordering the old city graveyard, where the water was supplied by public companies, the air also must have been in fault. In the houses which closely bordered the old city yards, which were crowded with bodies, cholera was very fatal in 1849; and I was informed," says Dr. Parkes, "by some practitioners that no cases recovered. I was also informed that all other diseases in these localities assumed a very violent and

\* *New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 30th, 1873.

unfavorable type.”\* The writer is speaking of experience in London. In Paris the public health has been frequently affected injuriously, not only by exhuming the bodies of the dead, but also, if Tardieu is to be accredited, by the exhalations of graveyards.† And Fourcroy states that “there are a thousand instances of the pernicious effects of cadaveric exhalations.”‡ The evil cannot but increase with the increasing age of the earth and the continuance of the present method of disposing of the remains of the dead. Sanitary science, ere long, will have to deal with it, and the sooner it does so and puts an end to intramural burials the better it will be for human life. No sentimental regard for the bodies of the dead should be allowed to compromise the welfare of the living. But, so long as the sentiment of mankind is adverse to the practice of burning the remains of the dead, it must be respected, of course. It is not too much to hope, however, that the progress of enlightenment will ultimately modify the horror which one feels in respect of cremation. It matters little in fact what becomes of the bodies of the dead,—indeed, nothing at all to the dead. Nature claims her own in the certain process of time; and man by having hermetically sealed his body in a box and buried it in the earth, only delays a process which is as right and proper as it is inevitable and certain. Moreover, by delaying the breaking-up of the body and the returning of dust to dust, consequences most dire come to it and to the bodies of the living. The worms prey upon it; offensive gases are generated; and these are diffused through the soil, and find their way into the subterranean streams that supply our wells, escaping finally in the air where they should have gone at first. How much better to hasten than to retard the requirements of nature, and give back at once to mother earth what rightfully belongs to her, and whom it is vain to attempt to cheat! Let the ancient custom of cremation be revived. The welfare of the living, we repeat, is of vastly more consequence than the bodies of the dead.

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\* *Practical Hygiene*, p. 126.

† *Parkes*, p. 126.

‡ *Dict. d'Hygiène*, Vol. I, p. 517.

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In an article in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1874, on the *Treatment of the Body after Death*, by Sir Henry Thompson, the writer takes exception to intramural disposition of the remains of the dead, for the reasons given above, and makes a strong argument in favor of cremation, or burning. And he quotes some recent examples of the process as practised by Dr. L. Brunetti, Professor of Pathological Anatomy in the University of Padua. "These," he observes, "were exhibited at the Exposition of Vienna, when I had the opportunity of examining them with care. Professor Brunetti exposed the residue of bodies and parts of bodies on which he had practised cremation by different methods, and the results of his latest experience may be summarized as follows: The whole process of incineration of a human adult body occupied three and a half hours. The ashes and bone earth weighed 1·70 kilo., about three pounds and three-quarters avoirdupois. They were of a delicate white, and were contained in a glass box about twelve inches long, by eight inches wide, and eight deep. The quantity of wood used to effect absolute and complete incineration, may be estimated from its weight, about 150 pounds." He adds that its cost was one florin and twenty kreutzers, about two shillings and four pence, English.

But let us return to our subject—water. The peculiarity of water, to absorb noxious and other elements from all possible sources, is not without its compensations in nature and human life. The very properties which tend to destroy its purity and inorganic simplicity produce a most wholesome influence upon the atmosphere. Many of the most noxious qualities of impure water are derived, in fact, directly from the air as we have seen. Such is especially true of some of the most deleterious gases, of which cold water absorbs many times its volume, and thus removes from the air, elements, to breathe which would be attended with consequences the most mischievous. The peculiar influence of water in purifying and disinfecting the atmosphere, and rendering it thereby the better fitted to subserve the high purposes of respiration, is not, we are confident, so generally appreciated as it deserves

to be. The subject is easily illustrated, on a small scale, in one's sleeping apartment. If a pail of pure water be left in such a room over night, the air of the apartment in the morning will be perceptibly sweeter in consequence, while the water itself has acquired a most disagreeable odor and taste. This well-known fact illustrates in a forcible manner one of the great uses of that element, and the advantages of living near large bodies of water. The air of such districts could not but be sensibly purer and better calculated to promote long life and good health. Prichard, in his *Natural History of Man*, has remarked the mental and physical superiority of people who live on the sea-coast and near large bodies of water. While he attributes the fact to the more direct influence of water upon the elements of nutrition, we believe it is also, in no small degree, owing to the influence of the water in depurating the atmosphere of many of those elements which necessarily impair its wholesome quality and vitalizing agency. "The cradles, or remains of the first nations, of those at least who became populous and have left a name celebrated in later times," says Dr. Prichard, "appear to have been extensive plains or villages, traversed by navigable channels, and irrigated by perennial and fertilizing streams. Three such regions were the scenes of the earliest civilization of the human race, of the first foundation of cities, of the earliest political institutions, and of the invention of the arts which embellish human life. In one of these, the Semitic or Syro-Arabian nations exchanged the simple habits of wandering shepherds for the splendor and luxury of Nineveh and Babylon. In a second, the Indo-European or Japhetic people brought to perfection the most elaborate of human dialects, destined to become, in after times and under different modifications, the mother-tongue of the nations of Europe. In a third, the land of Ham, watered by the Nile, were invented hieroglyphical literature, and the arts in which Egypt far surpassed all the rest of the world in the earlier ages of history."\*

Due credit should also be given, in this matter, to the

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\* *Natural History of Man*, p. 136. London : 1848.

influence of ozone in localities bordering the seas and rivers. It is well known that ozone is present in the atmosphere of the sea in a maximum proportion, and its purifying agency can be no small factor in accounting for the superiority of sea air.

The specific uses of water in sickness and in the prevention of disease must not be overlooked altogether in this connection, although it is no part of our purpose to enter at length upon this phase of our subject. As a therapeutic agent, water admittedly takes high rank. It is nature's own febrifuge. Its value in all affections of an inflammatory character is generally recognized. In gastric disorders and derangements of the digestive system generally, pure water possesses highly salutary and remedial virtues. It is said of Burke that when he was indisposed, his great and only remedy was water, of which he drank great quantities, sometimes as much as four quarts during a morning—simply water, unmixed with any flavoring extract, acid, or alcoholic appetizer, or infusion—water as hot as he could drink it. "Warm water," he said, "would relax and nauseate, but hot water was the finest stimulant and most powerful restorative in the world." He seems to have had "water on the brain," as well as in it. But his confidence in the remedial virtues of his favorite specific was not misplaced, as physicians well know. The course pursued by him when ill was wiser than that of his contemporaries, who were bled, blistered and "bolused" to death, *secundem artem*, according to the most approved practice of his time. But the medical common-sense of mankind of today is not equal to that of the distinguished Burke of the last century. If it were so, there would be fewer doctors and druggists and smaller incomes on the part of those that survived the decline of the number of nostrum-venders and nostrum-takers.

So vastly important is water from a therapeutic point of view, that a new school of medicine was established in New York, a few years since (1855), with water as its chief cornerstone (liquid). It proposed to cure all curable—and many incurable—diseases by a judicious use of water and the

adjuvants of sunlight, air, diet and other hygienic agents and influences. The broad principle on which the hydropathic system of therapeutics was founded is, that disease is remedial effort on the part of nature in the direction of health—towards restoring the normal equilibrium of the organism. Its oracles maintained that such remedial effort (disease) required wise control only, exciting, diffusing or repressing, according to the nature and occasion of the special affection. All these ends, it was contended, could be attained by water, of a temperature and mode of application which the peculiar exigencies of the individual case demanded. The rationale of morbid action thus formulated is unquestionably sound; the therapeutics is simply nonsense.

However that may be, following up the wild impulse of the one idea, having for its *raison d'être* the flagrant abuses and absurdities of the "regular" practice, increased and intensified by exaggerated reports of marvellous cures by water, the hydropathic movement gained rapidly in public favor and public patronage, bringing into its ranks many worthy members of the regular profession who were disaffected with the grovelling routine of "scientific" medicine. Medical "reform" seems to have been the dominant idea, taken up and preached by men and women who were ignorant of the first elements of medicine. For a time hydropathy became the rage of the world. Institutions, fitted up at great expense, and with most ingenious devices for applying the "water-cure," sprung up in all civilized countries, and were filled to overflowing with the diseased and infirm of every variety. The one idea of the ignorant peasant of Graefenberg, Priessnitz, swept the two hemispheres, and for a time seemed destined to revolutionize the medical sense of the time and extinguish the medical lore of ages. But a few years of actual experience with the disorders of mankind sufficed to convince the hare-brained enthusiasts who engineered the movement that the ills of the race are too deeply rooted and of a character too subtle and chronic to be washed out with a few buckets of water and a few hours' soaking between the wrappings of a sheet pack or the folds of a wet-wrapper. And thus ended a movement

which did much good and also much evil. While many were washed by it into untimely graves, the tragedies perpetrated with the lance, calomel and antimony were checked in a measure through its influence in bringing into clearer view the hygienic importance of water.

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## ART. V.—THE WORKING-CLASSES OF EUROPE.

1. *The Wealth of Nations.* By ADAM SMITH.
2. *Alton Locke; the Autobiography of a Chartist.* By C. KINGSLEY.
3. *Report of the Royal Commission of 1869 upon British Trades-Unions.*

IN the last days of the Second Empire, a French caricaturist, masking with his playful satire one of the deepest political truths of modern times, sketched Napoleon III as presiding over a meeting of farm-yard fowls, intended to represent the French nation. "My good friends," says he, "I have called you together to consider with what sauce you should be eaten." "But we don't want to be eaten!" objected his hearers. "Keep to the question!" replies the president, sternly; "that remark is irrelevant." For ages past, the laborers of the world's vineyard have been making the same protest to their masters, and receiving the same answer. But this straightforward cutting of the Gordian knot is no longer possible. Slowly and painfully, the logic of events has demonstrated the great truth that the strength of a nation lies not in brilliant courts and colossal standing armies, but in the hands and hearts of her working men;\* and that those working men are not a mere inert mass, created solely to be fed upon by those above them, but a congeries of sentient and intelligent units, conscious that they too have rights of their own, and fully determined to maintain those rights to the utmost. One

\* "I shall account myself king," said Henry IV of France, "when every peasant in my kingdom has a fowl to dine upon." Compare this just and noble sentiment with Louis the Fourteenth's famous: *L'Etat, c'est moi!* eighty years later, and the French Revolution is explained.

of the most formidable problems now confronting Europe is to determine labor's rightful place in a world originally framed, one would suppose, for the sole benefit of capital.

We say "Europe" advisedly, for in the United States this momentous question can hardly be said to exist. Free alike from the one-sided trading system of England, and from the crushing military mania of the Continent, America offers to every industrious workman what he considers his *summum bonum*—"a clear field, and no favor." In Europe it is far otherwise. The creed which branded all industry as a disgrace, handed down from days when wholesale theft and murder were the only occupations worthy of a gentleman, has survived the disappearance of robber-barons and *les droits de la seigneurie*; and although no gentleman of our time would be likely to declare point-blank that it is a degradation to support one's self by manual labor, it would not be easy to find one who could honestly affirm that he had not often felt and acted as if he thought so.

The fact is—and such a fact cannot be repeated too often, for it gives the clew to half the strikes and trade-quarrels in existence—that although the outward symbols of caste are gone forever, its spirit still lives unchanged. No tradesman can now be punished by law for "wearing bravery suiting not with his degree," nor can the patrician be distinguished by his plume and embroidery from the plebeian in his flat cap and gray jerkin; but neither has yet outgrown the fatal conviction that the other is his natural enemy. Strive against the feeling as they may, the workman is still a mutineer in the eyes of the capitalist, and the capitalist a tyrant in those of the workman. Few words have ever had a sadder significance than the grotesque compliment paid by the sturdy grenadier of George the Fourth's time to a young officer who had befriended him: "God bless you, my lord! there ain't a bit o' the *gentleman* about you!"

Hence it comes that every great European nation, instead of forming one homogeneous whole, is made up of two opposing parties, the men of means and the men of muscle. Both have their leaders, their regulations, their treasury, their

organized system of action. Their ordinary attitude toward each other is an armed neutrality known as "employment," varied at times by an open and bitter conflict, termed "strike" or "lock-out," according as it is the work of the one party or the other, the penalty of defeat being bankruptcy for this side, and death by starvation for that. In a word, the much-vaunted "universal peace" of traffic and manufacture is really a universal and well-organized civil war, waged upon certain recognized belligerent principles known as the laws of trade.

And, all the while, there are in both these contending armies men of warm heart and kindly temper, men who are honestly desirous of ending the age-long feud, and making the two hostile forces work in concert instead of in opposition. There are masters who wish to gain the good-will of their men, and men who wish to do profitable and faithful service to their masters; yet both, as if bound by some infernal spell, seem doomed to go on misunderstanding, fearing, and hating each other, from the cradle to the grave.

Is there no remedy, then, for this deplorable state of things? Undoubtedly there is; but it requires time for its application, and time is precisely what many of those concerned can least afford to give it. The banners of the relieving force may be seen waving in the distance, but while it is slowly advancing, man after man of the beleaguered garrison falls and dies. The immediate forerunners of every great social reform, like Arnold Von Winkelried, at Sempach, perish in making the breach through which their followers sweep onward to victory; but the struggling laborer of the period, be he ever so stanch and devoted, cannot quite forget his own sufferings in the promised happiness of posterity. None but those who have actually experienced it know how bitter an ordeal it is for any man to sacrifice all that makes life worth having, to the faint and far-off prospect of a deliverance which he well knows that he can never live to see. The future is very distant, the present very hard. To one who, mere machine as some choose to think him, has nerves and feelings like their own, the gnawing hunger, the fireless

hearth, the ragged clothes through which rain and wind bite so keenly—the dreary return home, tired out by long seeking for work in vain, to find his children crying for food, and his wife weeping silently in a corner of the cheerless room, long since stripped of all its scanty furniture—are grim realities, beside which the visionary glories of future liberty and happiness appear indeed too dim and distant.

A modern traveller has asserted that the higher classes of all civilized countries are very much alike, and that those who wish to find diversity of character must seek it among the common people. This is indeed true, but only to a certain extent. Climate, creed, hereditary privilege, may produce many superficial differences, but the broad foundation of human wants and human feelings is the same in each and all. In every civilized State of the present day, the sufferings of the laboring class, with their causes and their consequences, have a sad and fearful uniformity. At this very moment, Ireland and Russia, thousands of miles apart, differing in race, religion, temper, climate, language, government, everything that distinguishes man from man, are being scourged by the self-same calamity. In both cases, an impulsive and unpractical movement has been followed by distress, disaster, and a crushing load of debt. In both, the outrages of a few frantic extremists have brought undeserved odium upon a whole class; and in both, the government has aggravated by ill-judged and blundering intervention the evil that it sought to cure, which has been further intensified a thousand-fold by the rapacity of local money-lenders, ever ready to fatten upon the misfortunes of the needy. The Irish tenant-farmer holds at its original rent land which gives him barely a quarter of its original yield. The Russian peasant has been paying for years past (in addition to an annual poll-tax of 15 roubles, about \$12) from 20 to 25 per cent. interest upon the purchase-money of land originally bought at 98 cents an acre, while in many cases worth barely 35 cents. The natural result has been Nihilism in the one case, and anti-rent agitation in the other.

This, of itself, would suffice to point its own moral; but even this is not all. The same causes have produced other

and far darker consequences. In the stern old mediæval days, the worst that irresponsible despotism could inflict was death or banishment. But in this "civilized and enlightened" age, numbers who can find, amid its enlightenment and its civilization, no means of keeping body and soul together, are daily inflicting either penalty upon themselves. How many men have been forced into self-banishment during the last ten years, the immigration statistics of the United States can bear witness. Of the worse horrors to which many others have been driven, one instance, out of hundreds which are only too well-authenticated, may suffice here. During the agricultural distress of 1873, a Russian peasant, whose family were starving around him, at length succeeded in obtaining a little food for them by mortgaging his whole Summer's labor to a wealthy farmer. He then humbly represented to his employer that, as he had no means of providing food for himself during the stipulated period, he hoped that it might be included in the arrangement. To this appeal the modern Shylock gruffly answered that he might "shift for himself, and be d——d, for it was no concern of his." What was the poor wretch to do? To "lay his case before the proper authorities," or to ventilate it in the columns of some influential journal, was not for a helpless drudge like him. What he actually did, if somewhat unrefined, was at least tolerably significant. He sat down by his hard-hearted employer's door, and cut his own throat.\*

These, it may be argued, are extreme cases; for there are many people who apparently consider everything that occurs in Ireland an exceptional phenomenon, not to be judged by any known rule; while as to Russia, they seem to think that calamities happening at such a distance cannot matter much to any one but the sufferers themselves:

"Mutato nomine, de te  
Fabula narratur."

Thirty years ago, before the flood of emigration had come to sweep away so many thousands of "surplus mouths," every

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\* This story is literally true, and occurred during the writer's residence in Russia.

*ninth person* in wealthy, commercial England was a pauper, the number of those receiving parish relief being nearly two millions! This is surely a fact worth noting; and to it may be added another fact even less easy to forget, and quite recent enough to be fresh in the recollection of many who are still young. In Manchester, at the very centre of England's manufacturing industry, among men whose colossal wealth had passed into a proverb, an English father and mother deliberately murdered one of their own children, in order (as they themselves afterwards confessed) to profit by the money which would be allowed them for the funeral! Well might the English Jeremiah, commenting upon this ghastly incident, say in his trenchant fashion: "When the worst horror which the fervent Hebrew fancy could conceive, suddenly confronts us as a fact in the life of an English household, it is surely full time that something were done." \*

The vast superiority of the present age to its predecessors, and the priceless benefits conferred by it upon mankind, are a favorite theme with historians; and within certain limits, they are undeniably right. In all appliances of health and comfort, in facilities for acquiring knowledge, in rapidity and completeness of intercommunication, the nineteenth century is immeasurably in advance of the eighteenth. Lord Macaulay's famous sarcasm upon the unreasoning sentimentalism which regrets "those good old times when men died faster in our pure country air than they now die in our most crowded cities, and died faster in our crowded cities than they now die on the coast of Guiana," was not overstrained. Arguing, as usual, from a part to the whole, many admirers of the new *régime* boldly assert that the condition of the working-classes has improved as markedly as everything else, and call upon the present generation of laborers to be thankful for unnumbered blessings. The latter would indeed have good cause for thankfulness, were this rose-colored estimate correct. But *is* it so?

Let us look at the case of an ordinary English working man, who has just heard a lecture on this subject, from a

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\* Carlyle's *Past and Present*.

speaker whom he has every reason to believe sincere and well-informed. He hears much of the superior benefits enjoyed by the laboring classes of the nineteenth century, and the manifold troubles endured by those of the fifteenth and sixteenth. This view strikes him, as well it may. He has heard that many Russian mechanics toil fourteen, sixteen, or even twenty hours consecutively, in an overheated atmosphere, rank with poisonous gases, for a pittance which he himself would consider tantamount to nothing at all. He has seen it stated that in many parts of Germany the operatives are free-thinkers and Socialists to a man, being absurd enough to believe it somewhat hard that they should be heavily taxed to maintain an expensive court and a vast standing army, while receiving no particular privileges except the "right" of serving three years in the imperial army—a right which they would very gladly relinquish if they could. He has been told that till very recently (though this is happily being amended now) the French workmen employed in the most dangerous and destructive trades—*e. g.*, the manufacture of white lead, etc.—were often the most poorly paid of all, perhaps because, dying, as so many of them did, within the year, they were not supposed to care much whether they lived well or ill during the interval.

Bearing all this in mind, and recalling, in addition, how often he has grumbled over his own case as a hard one, our workman naturally feels somewhat curious to know what manner of men they were who, three or four hundred years ago, were so unspeakably worse off than himself. He borrows a history of England, and reads, with ever-increasing amazement, of Westminster apprentices stipulating that they should not be obliged to eat fresh salmon oftener than thrice a week, of simple yeomen luxuriating upon "chines of beef and tankards of strong ale," of the English commonalty under Elizabeth and James I being described as "the best-fed people in Europe." Small blame to him if he grow bewildered in the face of such contradictions, and begin to suspect that either the lecturer or the historian must be gifted with more imagination than veracity.

But were our enquirer to pursue his researches a little farther, he would encounter other facts even more startling than these. He would find that in 1776, three years after the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, an inquisitive gentleman named Arthur Young (one of those troublesome persons who insist upon testing a plausible statement instead of taking it for granted) travelled through England in quest of reliable information respecting labor and its wages. He found that the minimum was six shillings (£1.50) a week, and the maximum 8s. 6d. (£2.12). In 1850, Mr. Caird, going over the same ground with the same object, found that in seventy-one years the maximum had only risen to sixteen shillings, while the minimum had remained at six. Reading these figures, our workman will probably consider that they do not indicate any very rapid advance of prosperity among his class, especially when taken in connection with the depreciation of money by the Californian and Australian "gold-finds," and the enormous rise in the price of all necessaries. He may possibly reflect, too, that even the poor sixteenth-century wretches, who had to content themselves with such hard fare as salmon and corned-beef, were, after all, not much worse off than himself, whose consumption of meat (to supply the exhaustion of nine or ten hours' hard work daily) is twenty-five pounds per annum, or one pound weekly! \*

The effect of these discoveries will be in no way lessened, should he happen to light upon the statistical report presented to the British Government in 1870-1, from which he will learn that at that time the maximum of wages (in Northumberland) was from 18s. to 20s. per week, while in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, the rate fell as low as seven! It is true that this estimate refers chiefly to field-labor; but none the less must it be held a somewhat noteworthy fact, that in this age of "unexampled prosperity," there should be thousands of Englishmen who are rewarded for enduring cold, wet, hard work in all weathers, and the racking rheumatism which is

\* This and many other statistics cited in the text, are taken from the official returns of the last British census.

many an English toiler's life-long companion, by having to support life (and not unfrequently to bring up a family as well) upon *twenty-five cents a day*.

Compared with the Dorsetshire clown, the skilled mechanic of Lancashire or Staffordshire, on *22s., 25s. or 27s.* weekly, may appear fortunate enough at first sight; but when the balance is fairly struck, he will be found to have little in his favor. The farm-hand has at least sunshine, green fields, pure country air. The artisan is pent up all day in a dark, dingy, stifling work-room, amid the hissing of steam and the rattle of machinery, hot, dirty, reeking with perspiration, his eyes red and inflamed, his mouth parched, the pores of his skin clogged with cotton-fluff or iron-filings, from which no precaution can wholly free that poisonous atmosphere. His "home" is ordinarily a small, dismal, over-crowded room in some gloomy back-street, fluttering with dirty linen and tainted with soot and filth; and seldom indeed does he see anything beyond the box of smoke-begrimed mignonette upon his window-sill,\* to remind him that there is still a region where God's creation is not yet defaced by man's money-getting.

"But," urges some political economist who would think himself miserably poor on a thousand dollars a year, "is not twenty-five shillings a week enough to keep any working man? What more can he want, in Heaven's name?" What, indeed? unless the working man should happen to have an ailing wife, and six or seven young children. A Malthusian, of course, would exclaim, with a righteous indignation, that such a man has no right to marry at all; but in this as in many other cases, although example may be better than precept, precept seems to be much easier than example. When a ruined marquis elopes with a portionless lady of rank, and begets sons whom he will induct into government sinecures, and daughters whom he will marry to gouty old millionaires, it is "romantic devotion." When a hard-working man takes a hard-working woman to cheer his loneliness, and "hold his house together a bit," it is "improvident folly."

\* The constant appearance of these miniature gardens in the most squalid parts of Manchester, Wigan and Oldham, is, to those who rightly understand it, one of the most pathetic sights in existence.

This, indeed, is one of our most flagrant errors in dealing with the labor problem, and a point upon which the working man (who is in reality a far shrewder fellow than many of his self-appointed judges) has just ground of complaint against us. Having once spoken of him as a *working* man, we appear to set it down as an immutable law that he shall be that and nothing else. That he should, under any circumstances, become a playing man—that, in other words, he should presume to wish to enjoy his life a little as others do, seems too monstrous for belief. Whether or not his critics really expect him to go on working without intermission, like an automaton, from the cradle to the grave, they certainly treat him as if they did. If he is seen lying upon the grass on a bright Sunday morning, enjoying a momentary glimpse of God's sunshine and free air, the clergyman asks him why he is not at church, and the capitalist sneers at him as an idle dog. If he sits down to have a friendly glass with two or three of his comrades, he is denounced as a "drunken rascal, wasting his money in tipping like all the rest of them." If he frequents lectures and reading-rooms, he is suspected of being a Socialist; if he prefers beer and skittles, he is branded as an ignorant clod; if he marries and has a family, he is reviled for having burdened the State with surplus mouths, and transgressed all the laws of political economy.

Many people are fond of asserting that the advocates of labor deal merely in mouthing denunciations and vague rhetorical generalities, instead of appealing to plain facts. This is, unhappily, far too true; and the pernicious effect of such a practice in harming the cause which it is intended to help, cannot be too severely condemned. But the "plain facts," when appealed to, are anything themselves but rose-colored. Take for example the case of an employé on one of the great English railways: a man advanced in years, and with a sick wife to support—who was on duty eighteen hours daily, for eighteen shillings a week. A comrade falling suddenly ill, this man was kept at his post for *three nights together*, till he fell asleep from sheer exhaustion; and a fatal collision occurring, nothing but a timely discovery of the facts saved him from

being held responsible, and punished for "carelessness." Again, an operative employed in a cloth-factory accidentally spilt some grease upon his fabric, making a slight stain, hardly visible to any ordinary eye, though an expert would probably have detected it. At first he thought of concealing the mishap, but, changing his mind, reported it to the "overlooker," one of whose duties is to deduct from men's wages the cost of any damage done by them. This worthy eyed him for a moment in contemptuous silence, and then growled "I'll 'bate you ten shillings for the damage, and five more for bein' such a——fool as to tell me!" Such are a few of the experiences of English working men. The far sorer troubles of English working women have already been chronicled by far abler pens than mine, and immortalized by a great poet of the last generation in words which will make the *Song of the Shirt* undying as his own name.

Considering the inevitable effect of such occurrences upon the naturally combative temper of the English laborer, and the constant efforts of designing knaves to hound him on to violence for their own selfish ends, it speaks well for him that the popular outbreaks of the past half century have been so few. The "Peterloo" massacre at Manchester, the fight in the Birmingham Bull-Ring, the Wigan riots of 1848, the attack upon the Birkenhead Town-hall two years later, were undeniably frightful; but in each and all of these cases the outburst ended almost as soon as it began. "I'm noan for sheddin' o' blood," said a north-country artisan, with the hard common-sense of his class; "I'd nawther kill a mon nor hurt a mon; but I feel 'twud be low for a reasonable mon to starve to death loike a dumb craytur," and I will'nt do't. I'm noan for pullin' doon mills and smashin' machines, for I know that way o' goin' on 'll niver stop invention; but I'se talk—I'se mak' as big a din as iver I can. Them that goovern us mun do some'at; they mun mak' new ord'nances, for I know it's noan right that poor folk should starve." This homely prophecy has already begun to fulfil itself, and to bear out the rough-hewn wisdom of this Aristotle in fustian. The "talking" has indeed proved more efficacious than the "sheddin' o'

blood." The Reform Bill of 1831 did not, certainly, usher in the golden age that many of its admirers so confidently predicted; but it gave a death-blow to one of the foulest of modern political abuses, and became, as has been justly remarked, the "Magna Charta of the common people." The "monster petition" of 1848 ended as a failure and a scoff, but nine-tenths of its more important stipulations are now the law of England.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the labor question, like every other, has two sides to it. Masters, like men, are of various kinds, and nothing can be more unjust (as the workmen are always the first to admit when left to the exercise of their own sound natural judgment) than to condemn good and bad alike, simply because both happen to belong to the same class. If the employé be pained and indignant at being charged with discontent and rebellion merely for having honestly done his best for himself and those dependent on him, the employer is not less so to find himself cursed as a "bloated tyrant, sucking the blood of the poor that he may roll in wealth," when in reality he is fighting desperately, and with an aching heart, to save the concern which carries with it all his own hard-earned savings, and the future hopes of his children. This is neither an imaginary nor an exceptional case, as many men now living know to their cost. Moreover, it happens only too frequently, that circumstances beyond the control of either party (as the present state of the Lancashire cotton trade sufficiently shows) place their rival claims in such direct antagonism, that one or the other *must* fall; and each, warped by suffering and peril, naturally lays upon his opponent the blame of a calamity for which the latter is in no way answerable. Such a situation is depicted with photographic truth and vividness by a single passage of Charlotte Brontë, who had herself lived among English workmen till she knew them by heart. The speakers are a distressed mechanic and a struggling manufacturer:

"Ye're a raight down hard'un!" said the man. "Will'n't ye give us a bit more time? Will'n't ye consent to mak' yer charges a bit more slowly?"

"And what difference would it make if I did? Am I the whole body of clothiers in Yorkshire? answer me that!"

"Ye're yourseln."

"And only myself; and if I were to stand still while others are rushing on, I should be trodden down at once. If I were to do what you ask me, I should be bankrupt within a month; and would *my* bankruptcy put bread into *your* hungry children's mouths?" \*

Here, at least, is perfect openness on both sides; it would be well if the two parties could always state their respective cases to each other as frankly and fairly. While the world lasts, there must always be employers and employed; and the best thing they can do is to try to understand each other a little better, the more instructed class being naturally bound to set the example. When a French philanthropist proposed to "cease executing murderers," and to substitute imprisonment for life, Alphonse Karr observed with equal wit and truth, "Tell Messieurs the murderers, then, to cease executing *us*." Those who wish the laboring classes "to behave like men," should begin by treating them as such; and it is only fair to admit that in many cases this has already been loyally and manfully done. Any one who has been much abroad in the manufacturing districts of England, will have heard, many a time and oft, some sturdy mechanic, with a gleam of honest admiration and gratitude on his hard face, tell how "t' maister" furnished them with dining-rooms and reading-rooms, set up at his own cost, fans and "clearing wheels" to purify the air of the working-rooms, visited those of them who were sick or disabled, and never forgot to have some present ready for the children at Christmas-time. Such things sink deep into the solid Anglo-Saxon nature, slow to receive impressions, but slower still to part with them when received. Few more pregnant anecdotes have ever been told than that of the north-country manufacturer, who, riding home after nightfall during a great strike, came upon a body of his own workmen, who had turned out in the cold and darkness to stand guard around his house, lest the indiscriminate vengeance of their comrades

\* *Shirley*, Chap. IX.

should light upon the man who, as they all felt, had done his best for *them*. A few more such men and such masters, and the world would have seen the last of trade-feuds and class-hatreds.

"But, after all," some pessimist will object, "what does all this amount to? Granted that some few employers do treat their employ  s as they ought, can they bring the emancipation of the laboring class any nearer? Does it not rather tend to show that the balance is still heavily on the other side? In all the weary centuries during which labor has been struggling for its daily bread, what has it *gained*? What has the progress of science and knowledge done for *it*, save to bring it more under the control of men whose sole object is to enrich themselves, who hold that their duty toward God is to remember Him for an hour every Sunday while forgetting him all the rest of the week, and their duty toward their neighbor to undersell him if he be an equal, and overwork him if an inferior?"

The answer to such a question is easy. Labor has gained the discovery of a power well worth even the heavy price paid for it—a power which, handled aright, can overmatch any opposition, and ward off the effects of any calamity. The name of that power is COMBINATION; and this brings us to the most important part of our subject, *viz.*: Trades-Unions, in order to obtain a clear idea of which, we must look back a little into the past.

Five or six centuries ago, the government kept the regulation of the labor question, as of every other, so completely in its own hands, that those immediately concerned had but little power in the matter; and that little, as might be expected, was wholly on the side of the masters. The first great English strike on record occurred under Edward III, immediately after the destroying sweep of the "Black Death" in 1349. Partly from discontent with their wages, and partly from the panic caused by the ravages of the pestilence, workmen of all classes deserted their occupations in such numbers, that "neither could any house be built, nor plough-share shapen"; and even the additions to the king's own

palace (a startling fact in those despotic times) were at a stand-still like everything else.

But the man of Crécy and Calais was as prompt and unyielding with his own subjects as he had been with the armies of France. Out came the famous "Statute of Labor," which is one of the most striking examples extant of the vast difference between the present and the past in their respective views of political economy. It enacted that every man or woman, whether free or bond, within the age of threescore, not having landed property or other means of livelihood, should be bound to work for any employer requiring their labor, at the ancient rate of wages; that *no combinations should be permitted among the working-classes*; and that all artificers, servants, and laborers refusing to serve, or even venturing to leave the town or hundred to which they belonged, should be punished by fine, imprisonment, or the stocks!

This last clause has a *gleba adscripti* flavor startling enough in the "Merrie England" which even then vaunted itself as the freest country in Europe. But even under this royal discipline, and in the teeth of civil war, riot, pestilence, arbitrary restriction, and the thousand other troubles of those iron times, the English commons grew and flourished, while the barriers raised around them by the feudal tyranny were already tottering to their fall. The devastating Wars of the Roses, in which the proudest heads of Britain fell by scores on the battle-field or the scaffold, overthrew those barriers at once and forever; and the great conflict which was the death-day of feudal England on the one hand, was the birthday of industrial England on the other. The blood of that fearful carnage had hardly dried, when the thriving condition of the English commonalty was already attracting the notice of so keen an observer as Philippe de Comines, the Burgundian historian of France, who, on returning from his visit to England, reported to his master that the common people were well-governed, prosperous, and happy, and that even the miseries of the civil war had fallen chiefly upon those who waged it.\*

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\* "Et ainsi tombe le malheur sur ceux qui font la guerre."

Freed from its former shackles, the progress of native industry was steady and rapid; and that inscrutable Providence, which so often chooses the worst men to achieve the best objects, selected as its champion the cruel and the profligate Edward IV. Merciless as any of his predecessors, he nevertheless saw clearly what they had, one and all, failed to see, that the future of England lay not in sword and lance, but in loom, trowel, and ploughshare. Hence, although his own blood was as noble as that of any Plantagenet, he sided with the burghers against the barons from the very first; and the zealous support given to his cause, during the war, by London and the other great towns, showed that the appreciation was mutual. When the last of the barons fell, in the person of Warwick, the king-maker, the burghers felt that their time had come at last.

And so, indeed, it had. So rapidly did the resources of England develop themselves under the comparatively peaceful rule of Henry VII., that that economical sovereign (who himself encouraged native trade and industry as much as his miserly nature would let him) contrived to accumulate, in a reign of less than twenty-three years, fully \$9,000,000, a sum as considerable then as \$70,000,000 would be now. This was so far fortunate, inasmuch as without this reserve-fund, the splendid prodigalities of his successor would have borne heavily upon a people already straitened by the sudden rise of prices caused by the influx of precious metals into Europe from the newly-discovered mines of South America.

It might have been thought that the England of that period, torn by religious feuds, pressed by commercial scarcity, and stirred by an ever bolder and more intractable spirit of popular liberty, was the very last kingdom which a prince of Henry the Eighth's imperious temper could be expected to rule with success. But the event proved otherwise. With all his overbearing pride and monstrous cruelty, he never forgot for a moment the great truth which so many of his predecessors had ignored to their cost, that the natural enemies of an absolute monarch are not the plebeians but the patricians. Accordingly, while butchering his nobles and beheading his

wives, he contrived to be popular with the commonalty to the very last; and on the single occasion when his purposes came into direct collision with their interests, he yielded with the same genial frankness wherewith he had joined the sports of his archers around the May-pole.

This popularity was not, as has often been asserted, wholly due either to the dazzling effect of his handsome person and magnificent display, or to the hearty joviality with which he shared the exercises and pastimes of his poorest subjects. His real hold upon the affections of his people was their instinctive recognition of the fact that, despite his fierce temper and headstrong impatience of opposition, he was a thorough Englishman at heart, and regarded them not as mere nameless beasts of burden, but as free men and women. They long retained a grateful remembrance of his emphatic provision for the support of "all that bee impotent, feeble, lame, or otherwise unable to worke (such being *poore in very deede*), and lykewise their children, until they bee of age to care for themselves."

This was as it should be; but the royal John Bull had an English head as well as an English heart, and was in no way inclined to extend his charity to the able-bodied "tramps" with whom the dissolution of the monasteries and the great feudal establishments had recently flooded all England. With *them*, as he quickly showed, he had no sympathy whatever. All subsequent Vagrant Acts "pale their ineffectual fires" beside the grim, business-like conciseness of Bluff Harry's famous ordinance: "As for all sturdy, mighty and valiant beggars, which do go to and fro in this realm, craving alms for their idlesse, the first tyme they bee found so offending, they shall be soundly scourged for a publick ensample. The second tyme their eares shall bee cut off; and the thirde, they shall incontinently be put to death." Under such legislation, pauperism was not likely to be a very thriving trade.

All this time the trading "guilds" of London and the other great towns were rising upon the ruins of overthrown feudalism, to a height which the latter had never attained. The cloth-workers, whose broad pieces had paid the cost of Poitiers and Agincourt, the goldsmiths, whose "benevolences"

had replenished the coffers of Edward IV, the grocers who founded national schools and endowed national charities, the mercers and silk merchants whom Henry VII himself delighted to honor—might well consider themselves a power in the State, second to none on its own ground. Nor did they always abide by that limit. The men of the people had already begun to rival the “blue blood” on fields which the latter held peculiarly its own. The best knights of France and Italy had fallen before Sir John Hawkwood, the son of a Cheapside tailor. A city clothier’s apprentice had become Sir Edward Osborne, Councillor of State, and ancestor of the future Dukes of Leeds. An Ipswich butcher-lad had risen to be the greatest man in England, and had barely missed exchanging his Cardinal’s hat for the triple crown itself. Later on in the same period, an obscure Warwickshire youth, whose father was a wool-comber of Stratford-on-Avon, became the associate of princes, and the greatest Englishman of all time; while a rough Plymouth seaman, half sailor and half pirate, circumnavigated the globe with a single vessel, and bearded in their own waters the noblest hidalgos of Spain. Meanwhile, war having changed from a pastime to a trade, commerce was beginning to reverse the act of Brennus, by casting her gold into the scale to counterpoise the sword. Even the brilliant and warlike Francis I could not restore to the Montmorencys and the Rohans the power which Louis XI had transferred to curriers and silk-weavers; while the Genoese bankers’ refusal of a loan to Philip II, at the instigation of their English brethren, delayed the coming of the Armada for a whole year.

The sixteenth century, indeed, may well be called the golden age of English labor. The resources of the country were amply sufficient for a population numbering barely two millions. Competition there was little or none, the demand for workmen being often greater than the supply. In those days of small capitals, any man might become a master, and any master might rise to be the head of a guild. Good food, manly sports, honest labor, frequent holidays, the discipline of service without servitude, made the English commonalty

what their bitterest enemies justly styled them, "the freest and the fiercest people in Christendom." The men who, in 1588, answered Elizabeth's call for five thousand men and fifty ships by furnishing a hundred vessels and ten thousand men, were certainly not wanting either in courage or in public spirit; and the same qualities were even more conspicuously displayed in the great civil war of the ensuing century. Despite Lord Goring's sneer at "knaves who go to battle with their yard-measures in their hands," the pikemen of the London train-bands turned the day against the best blood of England, both at Edgehill and at Newbury; and their moderation in peace was even more creditable than their prowess in war. As Lord Macaulay has truly said, "an army of fifty thousand men, whose backs no enemy had ever seen, was quietly absorbed into the mass of the population; and only by his superior industry and good behavior could any man of them be identified as one of Oliver's old red-coats."

Toward the close of the seventeenth century, when English society was already settling into the form which it still retains, signs of coming trouble began to overcast the world of labor. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and the consequent flight of the Huguenots from France, flooded Belgium and England with experienced foreign workmen, whose patient industry, superior skill, and amazing power of living upon nothing,\* made the English mechanics regard their coming with much the same feelings with which a Californian of our day watches the landing of a fresh ship-load of Chinese. The "good wages" of the clothing-trade (then one shilling a day!) fell at once, and the general discontent found utterance in those rude peculiar songs which were the seventeenth-century Englishman's substitute for a letter to the *Times*. One of these may serve as a fair sample of the rest:

"We'll make 'em work hard for sixpence a day,  
Though a shilling is what we should rightfully pay;  
If at this they should murmur, and say 'tis too small,  
We'll bid 'em choose whether they'll work at all."

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\* The invention of ox-tail soup is ascribed to the ingenious frugality of these refugees.

But notwithstanding these and other drawbacks, the reigns of Anne and of the first three Georges were a time of comparative prosperity for the working-class. A business could then be started with a capital which would now be absurdly inadequate. In many trades, competition was limited by a law of apprenticeship. Not a few others had a fixed standard of wages. The mutual relations, too, of employer and employé, still retained much of the friendly and paternal character which had marked them in the "good old times." The apprentice sat at his master's table, took part in his master's conversation, and not unfrequently accompanied his master's family to a merrymaking. The cartoons of Hogarth, and the writings of his contemporaries, show us that it was then considered quite a natural thing that a shrewd and industrious 'prentice-lad should become the partner and son-in-law of the man whose store he had swept, and whose errands he had run. Any brisk youth might be a Francis Goodchild, and any Francis Goodchild might become Lord Mayor of London, that *ne plus ultra* of Cockney grandeur, with which the prophetic chimes of Bow Bells cheered supperless Dick Whittington.

But with the opening of the present century came a sudden and fearful change. The crushing expenses of the Napoleonic war, and the exclusion of British goods from the Continent by Napoleon's "Berlin Decrees," had already driven the working-class to extremity, when the introduction of steam-power and machinery (which was to the world of labor what the French Revolution was to that of politics) dealt it what then appeared a death-blow. In a moment all existing laws and regulations—apprenticeship, limited capital, fixed wages, repressed competition,—were swept away, and in their stead arose the joint-stock companies, colossal funds and gigantic business establishments, of the new school. The great innovation which was destined to multiply so vastly England's productive power, seemed at first sight to have annihilated it; and the horrors which ensued can never be forgotten. On every side mills were blazing, machines being destroyed, unpopular masters killed or maimed, soldiers and "Luddites"

facing each other in combats which often assumed the proportions of a regular battle—till all culminated at length in the terrible day, when seventeen men were hanged on one gallows for frame-breaking, in the market-place of York.

Nor was even this all. In its eagerness to remedy the evil, the Government only made it worse. The mischiefs caused by the abolition of the Workhouse Test in 1815, and by the blundering administration of the old Poor Law, were aggravated a hundred-fold by the adoption of David Ricardo's false and monstrous theory that the price of labor is regulated by that of food and other necessities, instead of *vice versa*. This astounding heresy, although refuted in advance by Adam Smith as early as 1776, was eagerly read and believed. It formed the basis of Sir Robert Peel's home policy down to the time of the Irish famine, and the foundation of the worst error ever committed by an English Cabinet—viz.: the notorious Corn Laws (more justly styled "bread-taxes" by the famine-stricken working men) which a popular poet of the time denounced in language that has certainly no lack of vigor:

"Make haste, slow rogues! prohibit trade, prohibit honest gain,  
Turn all the good that God hath made to fear, and hate, and pain,  
Till beggars all, assassins all, all cannibals we be,  
And death shall have no funeral from ship-less sea to sea!"\*

But this bitter trial was not sent in vain. In that season of universal gloom, misery, and despair, the first germ of the coming harvest took root. The English working man now saw clearly that that which met and foiled him at every turn was the power of combination among his opponents, and that the same power might be used with equal or even greater effect by his own class. Divided, they were as loose pebbles scattered by a great wave; united, they would form the breakwater which should scatter that wave in its turn. The result was the modern Trades-Union.

The obloquy heaped upon this famous system is a striking instance of the "faulty generalization" condemned by Lord Bacon, which makes so many well-meaning blockheads excommunicate Scott and Cooper for the sins of Paul de Koek, or

\* Ebenezer Elliot, *Corn Law Rhymes*.

look askance at Shakespeare because his name is associated with the dreadful word "theatre." Confounding all Trades-Unions with the vitriol-throwers of Manchester and the "ratteners" of Sheffield, many worthy people regard the whole system as a kind of unhallowed modern Vehm-Gericht, given to turning out by torch-light at unlawful hours, in black masks and other sinful paraphernalia, with Wat Tyler for its president, Jack Cade and Thomas Münzer for its officers, and the robbing, murdering, or blowing-up of all respectable and Christian householders for its avowed object.

Now, no sensible man has ever attempted to deny that the Trades-Union was at first used far more as a weapon than as a shield. Rough and uncultured men, furious with long suffering, which threatened to deepen into absolute starvation, were not likely to be very nice in their choice of means of deliverance; and direct appeals to violence were unhappily only too consonant with the spirit of the age. The national temper, rendered savage by twenty years of almost unbroken war, sanctioned and even encouraged, half a century ago, acts which would now be universally condemned. In days when George IV himself drove a common bruiser in his own drag to the scene of an impending prize-fight, and with his own august hands assisted his favorite to "peel" for the fray, a Yorkshire "artisan" might well think himself justified in knocking down the man whom he considered to have "takken t' bread out o' th' childer's mouths." That far too many Trades-Unions have, even in more recent days, abetted and even deliberately planned outrages of the worst kind, is well known to every man who has studied the subject at all, but it as little follows that every Trades-Union in existence should therefore be condemned and extirpated, as that fire should be so because it may consume a house as well as warm it. Applied mistakenly and violently, the combination system has certainly done much harm; applied temperately and judiciously, it has as certainly done much good. The question to ask is, on which side does the balance lie? On this point we have conclusive evidence in the testimony of the Government Commissioners deputed to report upon the Trades-Union

system in 1869—the very last men, surely, to err on the side of partiality. “It is a fact worthy of notice,” says their report, “that the fewest disputes with employers, and the greatest steadiness in the rate of wages, have been observable in those trades which have the strongest and the most extended Unions.” This statement obviously implies that, in the cases referred to, the workmen have been at once strong enough to carry their point without a struggle, and wise enough to do so with as little quarrelling and heart-burning as possible. Were further evidence needed, the history of 1878 would alone suffice to furnish it. In the April of that year, a number of Lancashire mill-owners, finding their trade falling off, judged it necessary to make a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of their workmen. What did the men do? To a measure which their grandfathers would have answered by the instant firing of every mill, and the attempted murder of every master, for ten miles round, they replied by offering either to submit the matter to arbitration, or to compromise it by accepting a reduction of five per cent. instead of the proposed ten. Had the combination system done no more for England than this, it would unquestionably have “deserved well of the State.”

But it has done more. Since it first came into operation, the whole world of labor has been remodelled. The working-classes, who had formerly no appeal save to torch or bludgeon, have now spokesmen and orators of their own, whose influence no one can deny. The passing of the Ten Hours' Act put an end to overwork. The iniquitous system which stunted, maimed, and even killed hundreds of young children every year, by forcing them into employments wholly unfit for them, is now prohibited by law. Meanwhile the condition of the laboring class as a whole, despite of its many drawbacks and much severe privation, is visibly and steadily improving. The Trades-Unions themselves, at first so few and scanty, now reckon both their numbers and their funds by hundreds of thousands. The “friendly societies,” which are now studding the whole length and breadth of England, with an aggregate of 1,787,291 members, and a total capital of £8,630,525, are

largely recruited from the ranks of the working men. An Agricultural Laborers' Union has been formed on the model of the operative combinations; and although its success is but slight as yet, the fact betokens, at least, a tendency in the right direction. The statistics of the small savings-banks, always a sure criterion of the state of English labor, are even more significant. In 1863, the number of depositors was 3,080,402, and the total amount deposited £27,187,401, an average of between £8 and £9 per man. In 1873, the former figure had risen to 4,002,567, and the latter to £63,471,412, an average of nearly £16 per man; while the returns of the past year, notwithstanding the marked depression of trade, show a considerable advance in both.

These are undoubtedly great and precious results; but, as Frederick the Great said in the crisis of the Seven Years' War, "all that has been done only shows how much more is still left to do." The great work can never be pronounced complete till capital and labor shall fully understand each other; and they will do so only when the last vestige of the old feudal tradition shall have been rooted out of every land from the Caspian to the Atlantic—when the Russian peasant shall give his vote in a free national Parliament, the English laborer till a farm of his own upon the ground once occupied by a corner of "his Grace's" deer-park, and the German artisan have a voice in deciding whether he and thousands of his brethren shall be sent to rot on foreign battle-fields without even knowing why they are thus sacrificed.

## ART. VI.—THE NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS.

1. *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge: Statement and Exposition of Certain Harmonies of the Solar System.* By STEPHEN ALEXANDER, LL. D.: 1875.
2. *Système du Monde.* Par P. S. LAPLACE.

ALL changes in nature are subject to laws, which man has been able only in part to understand. The forces of the universe constantly manifest themselves in either neutralizing the action of one another in producing equilibrium, or in producing changes in the position and the physical constitution of bodies. In one department of nature we see worlds in existence, and in another organic bodies—animals and plants. Man has learned something of the nature of the life-forces, and of the laws which move worlds and regulate their motions. But he is not satisfied with this knowledge. From early times philosophers have tried to account for the existence of things, especially unorganized bodies, and they still keep the problem under consideration. This clearly proves that man inherits from nature the desire to investigate and the faculties to do so. The outward phenomena of the physical universe, if we may be allowed the expression, early attracted his attention, and many years ago he made an effort to discover the process which produced worlds and systems of worlds. The continuation of this effort has finally given us a theory of creation known as the Nebular Hypothesis, remotely connected with which is the science of geology.

The earliest cosmogony of the Indian and the Egyptian schools of philosophy ascribes the first creation of the world to an infinite Being who had existed from all eternity. He

not only created it, but he repeatedly destroyed it and all its inhabitants, and recreated them as frequently. Humboldt tells us that the Indians in South America celebrated by festivals and dancing the destruction of the world and the approaching epoch of its regeneration. All these early attempts to account for the phenomena of the visible creation, called in the aid of a divine being, to whom was assigned attributes according to the ideas of the originators of these notions. As yet, man was not sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of the phenomena of the material universe, and the laws which control them, to enable him to construct a rational theory of the formation of the world.

It appears that the celebrated naturalist, M. Buffon, was the first to propose a physical theory to account for the phenomena of the solar system. Many years before, the great mathematician, Leibnitz, had published a theory of the formation of the Earth, in his *Protogea*, in which he assumed the original condition of the earth to be that of a burning luminous mass, and that it has ever since been refrigerating. Buffon, however, attempted to go much further back and advance a much more comprehensive hypothesis.

He supposed the sun already to have an existence, and that a great comet, from the distant regions of space, fell upon it near one side and furrowed it out to a slight depth. This passage draws off a quantity of fiery, fluid matter; and, supposing it to have met with no resistance, the parts of equal bulk, he remarks, which were of lightest material, would experience the greatest impulse, and would thus be forced to the greatest distance from the sun. These parts, he conceived, might form the larger and less dense planets, Jupiter and Saturn (Uranus and Neptune being unknown when Buffon wrote). The denser parts driven off from the sun, he thought, would concentrate themselves in regions nearer the sun, and thus form the smaller planets, the earth, Mars, Venus and Mercury.

This hypothesis of Buffon is entitled to consideration only as being a first attempt to solve a grand problem—the order and arrangement of the solar system. No evidence

exists that any comet has sufficient mass to produce the effect supposed; and, if it should, all the planets so formed must pass through the point at which they had their origin, as we know from mechanical principles, until their mutual action so changed the elements of their orbits that this could no longer take place. But even then the theory of gravitation would not only show the fact, but point out the place in the solar system where they thus had their origin. The orbits of planets formed in such a manner would be very elliptical, whereas the actual orbits of the planets are nearly circular. The influence which the planets have had on the motions of one another could not permanently alter the forms of their orbits to any great extent, for Lagrange and Laplace demonstrated the existence of the dynamical stability of the solar system, from which it follows that the eccentricities of the orbits can never increase so as to be very much greater than what they now are.\* Stockwell has shown, by discussing the secular variations of the elements of the planetary orbits, that the eccentricities have always been confined within narrow limits.† Buffon's hypothesis accounts for the movements of the planets in the same direction around the sun, and for the small inclinations of the planetary orbits to one another.

About the same time, the great German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, attempted to account for the order and arrangement of the solar system upon mechanical principles. In his work, Kant expounds the principles and operations which have led, according to his hypothesis, to the development of the universe from diffuse atoms of matter possessing simply attractive and repulsive forces. He deduces a doctrine which is not essentially different from what is now known as Laplace's *Nebular Hypothesis*. He accounts for the relation of the masses and densities of the planets to their distances from the sun; for the eccentricities of their orbits; for their rotations, for their satellites, their revolutions in the same

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\* *Mém. Acad. des Sciences*, 1784.

† *Memoir on the Secular Variations of the Elements of the Orbits of the Eight Principal Planets*: *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. XVIII.

2d Series: VOL. VI.—NO. I.

directions, and for Saturn's rings, and the zodiacal light.\* It is unnecessary, however, to follow his speculations any farther. The nebular hypothesis as propounded by Laplace, and developed by him and succeeding writers, has taken precedent of all others; and that must command our principal attention.

"However arbitrary," says Laplace, "the system of the planets may be, there exist among them some very remarkable relations which may throw light on their origin. Considering them with attention, we are astonished to see all the planets move around the sun from west to east, and nearly in the same plane; all the satellites (except those of Uranus and Neptune) moving around their respective primaries in the same direction, and nearly in the same plane as the planets. Lastly, the sun, the planets, and those satellites in which a motion of rotation has been observed, turn on their axes in the same direction, and nearly in the same plane as their motion of revolution."† To these facts he further adds the small eccentricities of the orbits of the planets; and we may also add that the planets are oblate spheroids—the polar diameter being less than the equatorial—and that they rotate on *principal* or *natural axes*; that is, the axes of rotation are steady. As we have already mentioned, it has been proved that the constitution of the solar system is such as to ensure its dynamical stability, a very strong proof that it has been evolved under the action of the forces which now regulate its motions.

Before proceeding to discuss this hypothesis, we will allude, very briefly, to several of the works which have treated upon it.

Among the earlier advocates of Laplace's nebular hypothesis was Prof. J. P. Nichol, of Glasgow, in his work on the *Architecture of the Heavens*, and also in his *Planetary System*. Although adding but little to what Laplace had already done, he brought it in a popular manner before his readers. The author of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* has devoted a chapter to the

\* See Kant's *General Natural History and Theory of the Heavenly Bodies; or, an Attempt to Account for the Constitution and the Mechanical Origin of the Universe upon Newtonian Principles*, 1755.

† *Système du Monde*, Book V, Chap. vi.

subject under consideration. He gives us some idea of the manner in which a motion of rotation in a nebulous mass might commence, by particles tending towards a centre. He illustrates the subject by quoting some of the results of M. Comte's mathematical speculations on the formation of the planets and their satellites. Prof. Daniel Kirkwood was occupied for several years in searching for new relations which he supposed to exist in the planetary system, and he finally succeeded in discovering a very remarkable approximate law, analogous to Kepler's third law of physical astronomy, now known as "Kirkwood's Analogy." A paper on the subject was presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its meeting in 1849; and the subject was discussed by several of our ablest astronomers, who regard it as bearing directly on the mode of formation of the solar system.\* Prof. Kirkwood has published numerous articles on this subject, and has since brought to light other relations and harmonies in the solar system.†

Prof. Gustavus Hinrichs, of the Iowa State University, published in 1865 a very able review of the state of the question at that time. In his paper Prof. Hinrichs has entered into a profound analysis of the mathematical conditions of the hypothesis. He has attempted to show that the rings of nebulous matter from which the planets were formed were abandoned by the solar nebula at equal intervals of time, and in this way he accounts for the existence of Bode's law. The departure of the actual distances from those required by the law, he regards as due to resistance to the motion of the planets, which the ether that is supposed to exist offers in the solar system. Prof. Hinrichs had previously discussed the density, rotation and relative age of the planets.‡ It will not be amiss to remark that it is not best to base very many conclusions respecting the actual state of the planetary system, on an ether, or a resisting fluid, till it has

\* *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vol. X, second series.

† *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vols. XIV, XXX, XXXVIII, and *Monthly Notices R. A. S.*, Vol. XXIX, and Kirkwood's *Meteoric Astronomy*, and *Smithsonian Report for 1876*.

‡ *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vol. XXXVII.

been proved that such a thing exists; for, according to our present knowledge of the subject, we are absolutely ignorant of the existence of any such fluid.

In 1867, Prof. Jacob Ennis published a volume on the *Origin of the Stars, and the Cause of their Motion and their Light*.\* The author has collected in this work a vast amount of information, intended for the scientific reader, relating to chemistry, geology, astronomy and natural philosophy. Though the work is quite readable, the author is not at all times logical in his reasonings; and besides, his data are sometimes assumed instead of being drawn from observation. Numerous statements, throughout the body of the work, show that the author is not conversant with the higher departments of mathematical analysis, and that he is often obliged to take at second-hand the conclusions of the mathematicians. Still, his numerous illustrations and explanations will enable the general reader to gain from his work a very good idea of our present knowledge of the subject which it discusses. We do not hesitate to affirm that the part which treats of the nebular hypothesis proper, is the most important document that has appeared on the subject since the original work of Laplace. Several of his ideas we shall have occasion to refer to in another part of this paper.

One of the most recent works that we have seen on the nebular hypothesis, is the very elaborate memoir by Prof. Stephen Alexander, the title of which is placed at the head of this article. A good many years ago, Prof. Alexander published † an extended paper *On the Origin of the Forms and the Present Condition of some of the Clusters of Stars and several of the Nebulae*. This paper, as its title implies, attempts to explain the present appearance of these clusters and nebulae. Various considerations led him to conclude that the milky way has the spiral form similar to that of some of the nebulae as figured by Lord Rosse.‡ Prof. Alexander has on

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\* Since then several enlarged editions have been published.

† Gould's *Astronomical Journal*, Vol. II, 1852.

‡ Prof. Hinrichs, in his paper before referred to, has given a mathematical explanation of the cause of the spiral forms of nebulae.

several occasions read papers on the nebular hypothesis, at the meetings of the American Association. The present memoir gives his most mature opinions on the subject under review.

In 1851, Prof. Peirce published some very important conclusions respecting the motions of Saturn's rings, to which he had been led by a mathematical discussion of the problem of their dynamical stability. These results he applies to the problem presented by the zone of asteroids between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter. \* In 1859 the Prize Essay† of the late Prof. J. Clerk Maxwell, on the dynamical stability of the rings of Saturn, was published. Several of his conclusions have a direct bearing on the condition of the primitive rings from which the planets were formed. To all these memoirs and works we have added our mite. We shall have occasion to refer to the more important results contained in those which we have enumerated.

Having now given a brief account of the literature of the subject, we shall endeavor to lay before the reader a general view of the present state of the problem, and of our knowledge of the question. As we proceed in our survey of the universe in all its parts, the less do we see of any special action on the part of a Deity, and the more do we see of the dominion of law. We are thus led to expect still more confidently our ability to trace with definiteness the process by which worlds and systems of worlds grew, as it were, from diffuse nebulous matter.

A careful examination of the materials composing the earth's crust has led geologists to conclude that the earth was once in a molten condition; and astronomers and mathematicians have proved conclusively that it was a liquid, before it became a solid body, since it has that figure (or form) which it should have if it were originally in the liquid state. Sir John Herschel also has shown ‡ how the earth might become spheroidal in form, if it were originally a solid sphere and covered with water, and then a motion of rotation given it.

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\* Gould's *Astronomical Journal*, Vol. II, No. 27.

† *On the Stability of the Motion of Saturn's Rings*.

‡ *Outlines of Astronomy*, Articles 226, 227.

But a mathematical investigation not extremely difficult shows that its form (ellipticity, flattening) would be different from that which it now has. We may hence conclude that the earth was originally a liquid; but whether it was once a gaseous body we have no direct means of knowing. We are able to show that gaseous matter actually does exist unconnected with the earth and planets; for the telescopic observations of comets prove that they are in such a condition. The spectroscope also has confirmed this conclusion, and it has shown, too, that several of the nebulae are really gaseous bodies, probably of very large dimensions.\* We are therefore at liberty to assume that real nebulae existed long ago as well as at the present day.

Let us, then, assume the primeval existence of a nebula possessing a sufficient quantity of matter to form our solar system; or, if we choose, several such systems. Certainly most bodies, and probably all, are of such a nature that they may exist, according to circumstances, in any one of three conditions (and perhaps a fourth, the ultra-gaseous), namely, the solid, the liquid, and the gaseous. These conditions appear to be mainly due to the absence or the presence of caloric in sufficient quantity. Because a body is rendered liquid or gaseous by the action of heat, it does not follow that it gives out more heat in either of these states than it does in the solid condition. Though a nebula is held in a gaseous condition by the presence of heat, the gas is not necessarily hot according to our conception of the term. We are by no means certain that heat is absolutely necessary to the existence of a gas, though it seems highly probable that such is the case. If, by any other means, the particles of matter could be placed at a sufficient distance from one another, a gas would be the result, and heat would manifest itself as soon as the particles of matter approached one another. However, it is generally supposed that nebulous bodies are gaseous through the influence of heat, let the heat be due to whatever cause it may be. Some recent experiments in reducing certain gases to the liquid

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† *Monthly Notices*, 1865, and *Amer. Jour. of Science*, Vol. XI..

condition show that they retain their gaseous state under the influence of intense cold.

We have assumed the primeval existence of a nebulous body sufficiently large to form a solar system. Since our sun is but one of the many millions which compose the milky way, it would, perhaps, be better to suppose the original nebula sufficiently extensive to furnish the matter out of which all the suns and worlds of our island universe were formed. We suppose this nebula to have possessed all the properties that belong to matter. The forces which act on a body are either in equilibrium with one another, or they tend to this condition. According to Newton's law of gravity, every particle of matter in the nebula attracts every other particle, and these attractions, if the body has not already reached the conditions of equilibrium, will give rise to motion among the different parts of the nebula, and thus, in general, there would ultimately result a motion of rotation. If we exclude foreign influence, the only possible way in which a motion of rotation could commence is that which we have described—by the particles seeking conditions of equilibrium in respect to one another and to the whole mass. We can conceive of several different ways in which this motion might manifest itself, but they are all dependent on the one general principle which we have stated.\* Various writers who have imagined this or that way in which the rotation began, have simply described different conditions of the general principle mentioned.

Since this motion of rotation is one of the necessities of our hypothesis, we may be permitted to call the attention of astronomers who have the use of powerful telescopes—and they are now quite numerous—to the need of observing nebulae for the special object of detecting a motion of rotation in some or all of them. There is evidence that changes have been observed in some of them; but there is need of more numerous and critical observations of the details of the

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\* This fact we wish to set distinctly before the reader; for some writers, insufficiently versed in the principles of analytic mechanics, do not seem to understand the fundamental principle from which rotation begins, and that it *must* begin.

nebulae proper, with the very best and most powerful instruments, making micrometrical measures to fix the position of different points, where practicable, so that a motion of rotation may, if possible, be detected.

When a nebula has assumed approximate conditions of equilibrium, in its process of condensation—for the attraction of gravitation and the radiation of heat will cause the nebula to decrease in volume and increase in density—if it separate into distinct parts, it will do so by abandoning rings about the equatorial regions. In the case of the nebula of the milky way, to which we have referred, it seems more likely that different and numerous centres of attraction were formed, about which matter accumulated, and that the rotary motion of the nebula caused these centres, so to speak, to separate from one another and move in independent orbits. If rings were abandoned by the great nebula, these rings must have broken up into many separate bodies, as happened in the case of the asteroids. But the evidence which we have of these primordial changes in our island universe is too scanty to justify us in pursuing these speculations farther. The truth of the nebular hypothesis, as expressing a great law of the physical universe, rests mainly on the facts which the solar system furnishes. Here we are able to say that thus far no well-established fact, which has an important bearing on the truth of this hypothesis, yet contradicts it.

Let us now direct our attention to the condition of the nebula which furnished the material for our solar system, and which we may denominate the *solar nebula*. We shall suppose it to be very much flattened, or of limited thickness, measured parallel with the polar axis, and of an extent reaching far beyond the orbit of Neptune, when considered equatorially. The equatorial outlines we may suppose to be somewhat regular. The object which we have now pictured is not altogether an imaginary one. Herschel's *nebulous stars*\* must be a very fair representation of the solar nebula. Lord Rose, by examining this class of bodies with his six-foot reflector, has been able to make out many details of their

\* *Phil. Trans.*, 1802.

structure.\* Number 450 of Herschel's catalogue of 1833 was found to have the star-like point placed in the centre of a nebulous nucleus, and beyond there was seen a nebulous ring which appeared to be completely separated from the latter. This represents the solar nebula when somewhat farther advanced in its state of condensation than the case which we assumed. We may reasonably conclude that the central portions of the solar nebula were of considerable density as compared with the external parts, or even with the mean density.

If we suppose the density in the interior of the nebula to be proportional to the pressure, as is the case of our atmosphere—and it must have been nearly so,—a mathematical investigation shows us that the density must have varied along the plane of the equator very nearly inversely as the square of the distance from the centre of the nebula.

According to this law, the density of the external equatorial parts was one-third of the mean density, the nebula being supposed spheroidal in form. The mass of the solar nebula was equal to the sum of the masses of all the bodies of the solar system; and if we assume the equatorial diameter of the solar nebula equal to the mean distance of the planet Neptune from the sun and the polar diameter to be the one ten-thousandth part of the same distance, the mean density of the nebula will be about the one sixteen-hundredth that of hydrogen gas at the surface of the earth; and water is eleven thousand nine hundred and sixty times as dense as hydrogen. The extreme tenuity of the gas composing the nebula from which our system was formed, becomes apparent by a consideration of these numbers.

To exhibit more fully the approximate internal density of the solar nebula, we have computed the following table, which gives its density at the distance of each of the planets and at the distance of the sun's surface, the density of

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\* *Phil. Trans.*, 1850, p. 499 *et seq.*

hydrogen gas at the surface of the earth being taken as unity :

Density at the mean distance of Neptune,	0.0002115
“ “ Uranus,	0.0005187
“ “ Saturn,	0.0020971
“ “ Jupiter,	0.0070515
“ “ Mars,	0.0822200
“ “ Earth,	0.1908800
“ “ Venus,	0.3648260
“ “ Mercury,	1.2738500
“ “ Sun's surface,	2.4330843

We learn from these figures that it was impossible, from the very nature of things, for the whole nebula to rotate as a single body. They are based on the supposition that the solar nebula was regular in form; but the outlines of diffuse nebulae, judging from observation, are in general very irregular. If motion commenced by the force of gravity levelling down the outlines—and it seems that this must generally be the case—the outer parts would finally circulate around the inner. This hypothesis, which is due, we believe, to Prof. Jacob Ennis, accounts more completely than any other for all the phenomena presented by the solar system.\*

Unless the force of gravity were counteracted in some way, its action would constantly condense the nebulous matter about the central regions; and this condensation would as constantly accelerate the motion of rotation. If currents were in the first place established in the outer parts, friction would extend this motion to the adjacent parts, and ultimately, by the condensation of the nebula, the whole mass would rotate on an axis.

Heat acts as a repulsive force which exerts itself in opposition to gravity. Unless the solar nebula, however, were of the same temperature as surrounding space, it would either become warmer or colder according as it was colder or warmer than space; and since it is quite certain that it was warmer than space, it would slowly become colder by radiation, and its repulsive action would become less, and the constant action

\* If all nebulae have a density as small as the primitive solar nebula, the wonder is that they are visible even with the best telescopes. On the *Invisibility of Nebulous Matter*, see *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 210.

of gravity would thus be enabled to reduce the size of the nebula and accelerate its motion of rotation, which would continue until the centrifugal force became equal to the force of gravity. This limit would cause a ring of nebulous matter to separate from the rest of the mass, and such ring would then move independently, while the remaining part of the nebula would repeat the process. The separation of the rings would take place in the equatorial regions, and owing to the small density of the material of the ring, it would be of considerable width. Indeed, we incline to the opinion that there was hardly such a thing as a separate and distinct ring, but rather that the different parts successively moved with a velocity such as to balance the force of gravity, the nebula thus revolving with different velocities in different parts. It can easily be shown that the motion of these parts would not be regulated by Kepler's third law of physical astronomy, viz. : that the periodic times are proportional to the cubes of the mean distances.

The separation of this revolving nebula into distinct parts must have been the result of the attraction of one part on another, and the disturbance of motion and place which would thus result. That something like rings would finally be formed is probable, if not certain; and the separation would occur where the attraction and the centrifugal force balanced one another; and here we can faintly see the origin of "Kirkwood's Analogy."

It would seem more than probable that the outer rings, as those of Uranus and Neptune, having so small a density, and being of great width, could never revolve approximately as a whole, but that the inner parts would have the greatest velocity in accordance with Kepler's third law. It will be seen that a planet formed from such a ring, on its breaking up, would rotate in a direction opposite to that which a planet would have if formed from a ring whose outer parts moved with a greater velocity than the inner. Such rings would naturally result where the density of the nebula was sufficiently great.

Prof. Kirkwood found\* that the interval between the

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\* *Meteoritic Astronomy*, p. 104.

principal rings of Saturn lies where the period of a body revolving around the planet would be commensurable with the periods of the four satellites, Dione, Enceladus, Mimas and Tethys. By applying this principle to the asteroids, he finds them grouped so as to leave intervals where the periods would be commensurable with that of Jupiter.\* These phenomena result from the following law of physical astronomy: If the periods of revolution of two planets are proportional, or nearly so, to two small whole numbers whose difference is not over three or four, they will return to the same relative positions in their orbits and in space, after comparatively short intervals, measured by their periodic times; and thus, by repeating the influence of each other on their orbits, the form and position of their orbits would ultimately become considerably altered. If, as is the case with Jupiter and the asteroids, the mass of one is vastly greater than that of the other, the changes are thrown almost wholly on the orbit of that body which has the smaller mass. In the formation of rings from which the planets have been produced, this law must have had great influence. It is difficult to trace its exact effect; but that it had an important bearing on the relative distances of the planets, and the disposition of the masses in the solar system, can scarcely be questioned. Prof. Alexander, in his *Memoir*, seems to have got an indistinct view of this principle; but it is to Prof. Kirkwood that we owe the discovery of its great influence, by showing how it applies to Saturn's rings, and to the distribution of the orbits of the asteroids.

The rings of nebulous matter would in general break up, and the parts unite and form the planets. Even if the planets originally revolved in circular orbits, their influence upon one another's motions would change the orbits to the elliptical form; and the following consideration will show how the elliptical form would become permanent:

The attraction of every attracting mass can be resolved into a series of attractions, such that the first term will be equal to the entire mass of the attracting body divided by the

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\* *Smithsonian Report for 1876.*

square of the distance of the attracted point from its centre of gravity, and this, in general, will represent the principal attracting force. The second and following terms will depend on the departure of the form of the body from that of a sphere, and they will be divided by the cube and the higher powers of the distance. The first term would cause a body revolving around the attracting mass (as that part of the solar nebula within a ring or the orbit of a planet) to describe a circle or an ellipse; but the moment the orbit of the revolving body departed from a circle, the remaining terms of the attraction would act as disturbing forces, and a planet formed from a ring of nebulous matter, under the influence of these forces, would necessarily be of the elliptical form.

In the solar system it is more than probable that the interior of the sun did not begin to rotate till after the ring from which Mercury was formed was abandoned from the slowly contracting nebula, for that planet revolves around the sun in about eighty-eight days, and it requires twenty-five or twenty-six days for the sun to complete a rotation on its axis. The inter-mercurial planet, Vulcan, if it exists, and it seems very probable that it does, completes a revolution in less time than the period of the sun's rotation. A body revolving at the surface of the sun would complete its revolution under the influence of solar gravity in less than three hours, and its velocity would be more than two hundred times as great as the present equatorial velocity of the sun. Even the orbital velocity of Mercury is twenty-four times as great as that of a point on the sun's equator. The conclusion seems irresistible, therefore, that the sun rotated only to a very limited depth beneath its equatorial surface when the planet Mercury was abandoned. The surface velocity has been lost by friction, in communicating motion to the interior.

After the planetary nebulous rings had broken up and become united in a single body, or planet, such planet would begin to rotate in about the same way that the solar nebula did; and each planet would pass through similar changes in abandoning rings which would in general form satellites. We shall also see that the same principle which we have shown to

apply to the sun, applies also to the planets which have satellites, and whose periods of rotation have been determined.

The planet Saturn rotates in about ten hours and sixteen minutes. According to observation, the inner bright ring occupies but a little more time in completing a revolution around the planet; and we have a right to infer that the dusky ring, as well as the inner parts of the inner bright ring, does not require any more time to rotate than the planet. A body at the equator of Saturn would revolve, under the influence of the gravity of the planet, in about three hours and two-thirds. We hence see in this case that all the velocity acquired by contraction after the last ring was abandoned, has been expended in giving motion to the interior of the planet.

The case of Jupiter is similar. This planet rotates in nine hours and fifty-six minutes; and a body at its surface would revolve around the planet, under the influence of gravity, in about two hours and twenty minutes. At least, then, a considerable part of the velocity gained by contraction from the inner satellite (which revolves in 1 d. 18h. 27 m.) to the present dimensions of the planet, must have been expended in adding to the motion of the interior of Jupiter.

The clearest proof that we have of the truth of this hypothesis, is found in the system of Mars. Prof. Hall's discovery of the inner satellite of that planet makes known the important fact that when Mars was expanded so as to have a diameter of about twelve thousand miles, the angular velocity of the equatorial parts was then greater than it is now. It is therefore quite evident that more velocity has been lost in giving motion to the whole planet than has been gained by contraction. We thus see the same result in every case that comes under observation, since the earth and the moon offer no exceptions, the velocity of the latter in its orbit being twice as great as the equatorial velocity of the earth. So far from the system of Mars being unique in the solar system, we see that, in the phenomenon under consideration, it is at best no more than an extreme case. The smallness of the mass and

the volume of Mars, is probably the cause of this apparent anomaly in relation to the inner satellite of that planet.

Mr. Doolittle has attempted to explain the phenomenon under consideration, by supposing that Mars met with innumerable meteors, and that the resistance which they offered gave rise to the present condition of the Martial system. This hypothesis would be tenable, perhaps, if we had meteors enough at our disposal; for we see that they would be required in all the secondary systems to which we have referred and also in the solar system itself. But where are the meteors now? Why do they not still continue to pour down in such quantities as to be perceptible in their action on the planetary system? According to the Newtonian principles of reasoning, we need not introduce any foreign cause to explain a phenomenon, when there is a sufficient cause in the system itself.

Somehow meteors, during the last quarter of a century, have had to bear the burden of explaining several difficult questions which the solar system presents. Prof. Peirce has recently revived the hypothesis which would account for solar light and heat. Non-luminous bodies are supposed to be distributed through space; why do they not in their motions eclipse some luminous bodies?

Some have supposed that the satellites of Mars are foreign bodies which have been drawn to the planet by attraction; but if such were the case, it is difficult to see how the orbits could lose their eccentricity as the case requires. Nor is it probable that both would revolve in the same direction, and so nearly in the same plane.

Like the theory of gravitation, every new fact in the system of the world that seemed at first to offer insuperable difficulties to a clear explanation, adds only new strength to the hypothesis of Laplace, when it is correctly interpreted. So it is always with such as are founded in the truth.

## ART. VII.—INTERSTATE EXTRADITION.

1. *Commentaries on International Law*. By ROBERT PHILLIMORE. 2 vols. 8° Philadelphia: 1854-7.
2. *The Law of Extradition*, with the Conventions upon the Subject between England and Foreign Nations, and the Cases decided thereon. By EDWARD CLARKE. Second Edition. 8° London: 1874.
3. *A Treatise on the Law of Extradition, International and Interstate*, with an Appendix containing the Extradition Treatise and Laws of the United States, several sections of the English Extradition Act of 1870, and Extradition Regulations and Forms. By SAMUEL T. SPEAR, D.D. 8° Albany: 1878.

A CRIMINAL has ever been regarded as the common enemy of mankind. In the earliest times, by the most savage tribes, and among the most barbarous nations, measures were taken to prevent and punish wanton and flagrant outrages against the public peace and prosperity, and individual security and happiness. These measures and appliances have been as various as the civilizations of the different peoples.

All nations, whether barbarous or civilized, distinguish crimes into two great classes, viz.: those that undermine the foundations of the State and war against its peace and dignity, and those confined in their effects to the individuals that compose the State. All jurists look upon those crimes that militate against the majesty of the laws and bid defiance to the powers of the State, as far more heinous than the most daring and malicious attacks upon individual security and welfare.\*

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\* 4 Gibbons, 376.

During the period when our Teutonic forefathers reigned supreme in the Albi-fatherland, a price was set upon the life of every freeman, including every wound that could be inflicted upon his person, from the bruising of his little finger or plucking of an eyelash, to the taking of his life; and every injury that could be done to his civic rights, from the theft of a suckling pig, or the killing of a fondling dog, to the armed occupation of his estate.\* He who took the life of a freeman, maimed his person or otherwise wronged him, or transgressed against his civic rights, was compelled to pay the fixed price therefor,—for there was a schedule or tariff for the “traffic” in those days.†

Thorpe tells us ‡ that the righteous prince, Edward the Confessor, approved of the Anglo-Saxon proverb which declares that we must buy off the spear from our side or endure it—“Biege spere of side oder bere”. The same principle was approved and put into practice by our subjected forefathers across the seas, when they bought their life and liberty with the *Dane-gilt*, which they paid those hordes of northern barbarians that swooped down upon their peaceful abodes in search of victims and plunder. Indeed, this principle has prevailed, to a greater or lesser degree, at some period in the history of all the Aryan branches of the human family, and was carried to its highest point of development by the early legislation of the Celts, in both the Irish and Welsh tribes.

In the early forms of civilization every wrong-doer was not accountable for the wrong he had committed to the government, or to the people, as in modern and more highly-developed forms of society, but to the person or family wronged. In those times, the whole population of the various nations was divided into families, clans or *gens*, and the solidarity of these families or *gens* was complete; and among these families or clans the Levitical doctrine of “eye for eye, tooth for tooth; as a man hath done, so shall it be done unto him again,”

\* Owen's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, Vol. I, p. 701 *et seq.*

† Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I, p. 177.

‡ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 467.

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prevailed, and the cravings for revenge were satisfied rather than justice meted out. Instead of being looked upon as a crime against the community, a wrong was regarded and treated as a trespass upon individual rights, to be redressed by the injured individual or his kinsmen. Consequently, these early societies were rife with rapine and reprisal; and the *wer-gild* granted by the *mallum* to aggrieved or injured parties was not a compensation for any injury they had sustained, nor imposed as a punishment for any infraction of the laws, but was levied to condone and pacify the injured party or his ferocious kinsmen, and thereby to preserve peace and harmony and prevent endless warfare between hostile families.

If the wrong-doer was unable to pay the fine thus levied upon him, or the "blood-money," as it has been aptly termed, it was levied upon his kinsmen; that is, upon the family, clan or *gens* to which he belonged, and they were compelled to pay it in proportion to their relationship to the wrong-doer, to the person injured, or to his kinsmen.\*

The fragments of the *Avesta* are the earliest records of Aryan legislation that have survived the wreck of time. In them, we find very distinct evidence of this mutual responsibility of the kinsmen of the wrong-doer to the person wronged, or to his kinsmen.† The ancient Hindoo code betrays, under the modifying superstructure of Braminical institutions, the prevalence of the primal system of family responsibility.‡

In those days this same schedule of tariff furnished a great source of revenue to the State§—for "the department of justice" was not long in learning to divert a part of the fine thus levied from the pockets of the wronged, or his kinsmen, into its own coffers—and this was in perfect harmony and accord with their ideas of right and wrong, justice and humanity, for the basis of these virtues is as fluctuating as the barometer.||

With the progress from barbarism to civilization, from

\* Dion. Halicarnassus, III, 10; XIII, 5. Tit. Liv. I, 26; V, 32.

† Bleek's Trans. *Vendidad*, 30-1.

‡ *Manava Dharma Sastra*, VIII, p. 295 *et seq.*

§ Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 358.

|| Lecky's *History of European Morals*, Vol. I, Chap. vii.

brutality to humanity, with the growth of law and the development of the idea of justice, we have left those appliances of our phlegmatic ancestors so far behind that today we have a much greater regard for individual security than for public revenue.

It would seem from some relics of the monuments of early civilization, that ever since the dawn of that æon when the civil State was organized from barbaric chaos, steps have been taken whereby criminals, having committed crime in one country and fled to another to escape the penalty, can be returned to pay the penalty of infraacted law. On the walls of the Temple of Karnak is sculptured the earliest extradition treaty that the monuments of antiquity have preserved to our time. This treaty was between Rameses II and a Khetan prince. Among other provisions there is one—the last—declaring that political fugitives shall be returned, with the following provision for personal safety, viz.: “Whoever shall be delivered up, himself, his wives, his children, let him not be smitten to death; moreover, let him not suffer in the eyes, in the mouth, in the feet; moreover, let not any crime be set up against him.” \*

The policy of thus returning, for trial and punishment, those criminals who have escaped from one country to another, is as manifest as it is just, and recommends itself to every enlightened age and every civilized nation.

Grotius, and other eminent jurists, maintain that a State is bound to deliver up fugitives from justice, who flee into it for protection and shelter. The majority of those who have written upon the subject, however, deny that there is any such obligation as a matter of *right* subsisting between nations, and put it on the ground of *comity*. The universal practice of all nations, ancient and modern, ignorant and barbarous, is opposed to the jurisprudence of Grotius, his collaborators and disciples.

It would seem that the various potentates of the earth would be anxious to enter into arrangements whereby they

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\* *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. IV.

could secure fugitive criminals who had sought safety in each other's dominions, and would readily deliver up such as had found a lodgement within their borders. Such, however, is not the case. Until quite recently, it was practically impossible for the powers of the earth to agree upon any proper international regulations, whereby the return of fugitives from justice could be secured. And, indeed, these arrangements are now limited to a few nations. When we remember that the leading nations of the world have hitherto regarded each other as implacable enemies, have labored assiduously to secure the dominion of each other's territories, and the spoils of each other's governments; in devising means of inflicting all the injuries possible upon their neighbors: when we call to mind the petty jealousies by which the majority of them are actuated, even at the present day, we cannot reasonably expect that they would be very solicitous for the domestic welfare of such neighboring nations, or very swift to assist in the enforcement of their respective laws against each other.

But between sister States, under kindred systems of government, especially with one whose genius is that of our own, there should be no jealousies nor rivalries, no want of harmony and accord. Each State should exert all reasonable endeavor in furthering the interests and welfare of the sister States; and especially should each be solicitous that those who violate the laws of any State, or of the general government, be brought speedily to justice, and thereby contribute to the preservation of the peace and dignity of the whole country.

Such seems to be the view that has ever been held by jurists on this subject; for shortly after our Pilgrim forefathers had established plantations in the new world, these plantations, through them, entered into a compact,\* whereby it was provided that "upon the escape of any prisoner or fugitive for any criminal course, whether by breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape was

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\* Winthrop's *Hist. Mass.*, Vol. II, p. 121. Hazard's *Hist. Coll.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-5.

made, that he was a prisoner or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrates, or some of them, of the jurisdiction where, for the present, the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hands of the officer or other persons who pursueth him; and if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted unto him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof."

When the colonists organized themselves into "The United States of America," this same compact was renewed and incorporated into the fundamental law of the land. In order the better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in the Union, it was provided that the free inhabitants of the respective States, paupers, vagabonds, and *fugitives from justice* excepted, should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens of the several States; and also, that any one guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, who shall flee from justice, and be found in any other of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of the offence.\* The only change was in so modifying the provision that the certificate of one magistrate only was required, instead of two as formerly.

After the War of the Revolution was fought and "The United States of America" had acquired the dignity of a free and independent government, in the formation of the Federal Constitution, which was to be the "faith and guide" of the nation for all time, this same stipulation was transplanted, root and branch, with the lopping of a few twigs, and in that historic document reads as follows:

"A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in any other State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of

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\* *Articles Confed.*, Art. IV. 4 *Mass. Rec.*, Part II, pp. 471-3.

the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.”\*

The Federal Constitution is the supreme law of the land,† and this clause, of course, is a part of the organic law of each State. The officers whose duty it is to execute the laws of said States are bound by it the same as by any other law which is not simply a dead letter upon the statute books. Yet there is no sanction to this law, unless provided by the several State legislatures, and in the absence of such sanction it is really no law at all.‡ The Federal Government has not the power of coercing and compelling refractory, obstinate or wilful governors to discharge this duty which is incumbent upon them.

Some of the State legislatures have, by special enactment, made this duty obligatory.

With this provision of the Federal Constitution the matter rested until 1793, when the attention of President Washington was called to the fact that the Constitution made no provisions for the method of authenticating charges against fugitives from justice; and also that it failed to designate from, or of whom, the demand was to be made. Washington presented the matter for the consideration of Congress, and, on the twelfth day of the following February, that body passed a bill entitled “An Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from their masters,”§ which act, with the various subsequent verbal changes, now reads as follows:

“When the executive authority of any State or territory demands any person as a fugitive from justice, from the executive authority of any State or territory to which such person has fled, and produces a copy of an indictment found or an affidavit made before a magistrate of any State or territory, charging the person demanded with having committed treason, felony or other crime, certified as authentic by the governor or chief magistrate of the State or territory from which the person charged has fled, it

\* *Fed. Const.*, Art. IV, Sec. 2.

† *Vide Fed. Const.*, Art. VI, Sec. 2, *et al.*; also *Journal of the Convention* that framed the same, pp. 222, 282 and 293.

‡ Austin's *Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, Sec. 1.

§ 1793, Chap. vii, Sec. 1, Vol. I, p. 302. Brightley's *Digest U. S. Laws*, Vol. I, p. 293.

shall be the duty of the executive authority of the State or territory to which such person has fled to cause him to be arrested and secured, and to cause notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent of such authority appointed to receive the fugitive, to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear. If no such agent appears within six months from the time of the arrest, the prisoner may be discharged. All costs or expenses incurred in the apprehending, securing and transmitting such fugitives to the State or territory making such demand, shall be paid by such State or territory."<sup>\*</sup>

The constitutionality of such an act was at first questioned by many, but it is now settled beyond the shadow of a doubt that though Congress may not, by legislation, exercise powers outside of, and beyond, those delegated by the Federal Constitution, yet it evidently is empowered to enact laws which are absolutely indispensable to effectually secure and carry out those rights that are granted and those duties that are enjoined by it.<sup>†</sup>

This act of Congress set forever at rest many questions which the Constitution left in doubt. The Constitution provides that "any person charged with treason, felony or other crime, shall," etc., but it fails either to tell us what it means by "charged," or how the charge shall be authenticated. The act of Congress provides for the production of a copy of an indictment found, or an affidavit made, before some magistrate of the State or territory in which the crime was perpetrated. The Constitution does not make any provision as to who shall make the demand of the executive authority of the State or territory to which the fugitive has fled; the act of Congress provides that the executive authority of the State in which the crime was committed shall make such demand. The Constitution makes no provision for extradition between the territories, or between the territories and the States, and none for the extradition of fugitive criminals either to or from the District of Columbia; the act of Congress includes the territories as well as the States.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> *Rev. Stat. U. S.*, p. 1027, Sec. 5278.

<sup>†</sup> 13 Pet., 540; 14 *Id.*, 540; 16 *Id.*, 618 and 639. 16 Wall., 366. 3 Vroom, 146.

<sup>‡</sup> 16 Pet., 539. *Vide contra*, *Ga. Dec.*, Part II, p. 33.

The District of Columbia, however, is not included in the Act of 1793; but in 1801 Congress passed an act in which it is provided that, in all cases where the laws of the United States provide that fugitives from justice shall be delivered up, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall cause to be apprehended and delivered up such fugitives from justice as shall be found within the District of Columbia, in the same manner and under the same regulations as the executive authorities of the several States and territories are required to do by the provisions of sections 5278 and 5279 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.\* The courts have held that a fugitive from justice may be extradited to, as well as from, the District of Columbia, and upon the same conditions and under the same regulations as to or from the States or territories.

The provisions of the Constitution and the acts of Congress are the supreme law of the land, and the various States, or any one of them, cannot enact any law inconsistent with, or in contravention of, these provisions, or one that in any way changes or modifies the same.† But the States can pass,‡ and many of them already have passed, laws auxiliary thereto.§ By these acts of the several State legislatures, provisions are made for the apprehending of fugitives from justice in advance of the demand of the executive authority of the State or territory where the crime was committed. Even in the States where such provisions have not been made by their legislatures, the authorities, upon principles of comity, would be warranted in detaining, for a reasonable time, any person charged with treason, felony or other crime in another State, to the end

\* *Rev. Stat. U. S.*, relating to the D. C., Sec. 843.

† 5 Wheaton, 122; 5 *Id.*, 21-2. 16 Pet., 589. 2 Paine, 579.

‡ Bishop's *Criminal Law*, Vol. I, p. 133. 5 Edmonds *Stat.* (N.Y.), 167. *Statutes Cal.* (1876), pp. 1385-6. Hurd's *Stat.* (Ill.), pp. 524-5. 2 Davis' *Stat.* (Ind.), 421-2. *Gen. Stat. R. I.*, 569-70. *Rev. Stat. Me.* (1871), pp. 900-1. *Gen. Stat. Ky.*, 492. *Gen. Stat. Conn.*, 544. *Code Va.* (1873), pp. 200-1. *Stat. Tenn.* (1871), Secs. 5243 to 5353. *Ga. Code*, Secs. 53 to 57. *O. Laws*, Vols. LXVI, LXVIII and LXXII.

§ Hurd's *Whose Corpus*, 636. 14 Pet., 540. 5 Metc., 536. 75 *Mass.*, 262. 23 *Cal.*, 585. 49 *Ind.*, 430. 57 *Id.*, 10. 3 McLean, 121. 14 How. (U. S.), 21. *Vide contra*, 5 Wheaton, pp. 1, 21-2. 16 Pet., 557.

that the executive authority of said State might make the constitutional demand, and secure the criminal. \*

Of the right of a State or territory to have a person, who has committed a crime while within its jurisdiction and then fled to another State or territory, delivered up for trial and punishment, there can be no doubt; the only question is as to the method of procedure. As laid down by the Constitution and laws of Congress, the matter is effected in the following manner:

There must be an indictment found or an affidavit made before a proper tribunal of the State or territory from which the fugitive has escaped, charging him with treason, felony, or other crime, † committed in the State from which he has fled, and in which the indictment is found or the affidavit made; ‡ the charge must be made in one or the other of the above-mentioned forms, not by giving the name merely, but it must be explicit in the necessary allegations of facts which would justify the finding of an indictment by a grand jury, or warrant a magistrate in committing the accused, § and the charge must be made in the regular course of judicial proceedings. || A copy of this indictment found, or affidavit made, certified to as authoritative by the executive officer or chief magistrate of the State, must be accompanied by a demand, which is a formally-written instrument and official application of said executive officer or chief magistrate upon the executive officer or chief magistrate of the State or territory to which the criminal is supposed to have fled, and in which he is at the time found. Without this formality and demand there can be no delivery. ¶ The certificate of the demanding executive or chief magistrate respecting the copy

\* *Ga. Dec.*, Part II, p. 33. 2 *Johns*, 477 and 479. 2 *Caines*, 2 to 12. 3 *Zabr.*, 391. 4 *Harring*, 572. 10 *Greg. and Rowle*, 135.

† 24 *How.*, 66. 16 *Wall.*, 366. 17 *Mass.*, 515 and 547; 112, *Id.*, 409. 3 *Zabr.*, 311. 3 *Vroom*, 143. 13 *Ga.*, 97. 6 *Am. Jurist*, 283.

‡ 3 *McLean*, 121.

§ *Loc. cit.* 57 *N. Y.*, 182.

|| 24 *How.*, 66.

¶ 24 *B. Mon. (Ky.)*, 687. 49 *Cal.*, 443. *Abbot's Practice Rpt. (N. Y.)*, 347. 9 *Wend.*, 212. 28 *Ind.*, 450.

of the indictment found, or affidavit made, is conclusive as to the fact of such an indictment or affidavit, and the genuineness of the copy.\*

The party demanded must be a fugitive from justice. The question that now arises is: Who are to be regarded as fugitives from justice?

It is well settled by the courts that any person who commits a crime in a State and withdraws himself from its jurisdiction without awaiting to abide the consequence thereof, or for the sake of avoiding punishment, or one who secretly commits a crime and suddenly departs from the State or territory, though he may have departed for other purposes than simply to evade punishment therefor,† or a person who is conscious of having laid himself liable to prosecution, and departs ere sufficient time has elapsed to allay apprehensions of such prosecution, or has been delivered after demand, admitted to bail, forfeited his bail, and again fled the realm,‡ may be properly regarded as a fugitive from justice, and as a proper subject of demand and extradition.

The executive officer or chief magistrate demanding a fugitive criminal from a neighboring executive or chief magistrate, appoints an agent to receive the said fugitive when he is delivered by the officer from whom he is demanded, and return him to the State from which he has fled, and to the officers of the law, for trial and punishment. This agent must appear within six months after the demand has been passed on and the accused distrained, or the latter will be set at liberty.

Upon the receipt of the demand, the executive or chief magistrate examines the papers, and if they are found to be in all respects regular, and the procedure such as the law prescribes, such officer is in duty bound to deliver the accused into the hands of the agent of the State or territory from which he has fled.

This is a summary proceeding and merely preliminary to the trial of the accused, and the executive or chief-justice has

\* 5 Cal., 237.

† 7 Law Rept., 386.

‡ 31 Vt., 279.

no authority to try the accused on the question of his guilt or innocence.\*

The States are justly very jealous of the rights and immunities of their citizens. In our busy world of intimate intercourse between the citizens of the various States of the Union, security of liberty and person demands that the States should mete out the full measure of their obligations, if such be required to protect even the meanest and most humble of their citizens. A case must be clearly made out and brought within the provisions of the Constitution and the laws relating to extradition, before any State will permit any one claiming a home within its borders and asking protection under its laws to be removed to any other for trial for an alleged offence.† It must be made to appear distinctly and beyond the shadow of a doubt, First: That an offence has been committed that is a crime punishable at law in the demanding State, and this must distinctly appear on the face of the papers.‡ Second: It must be made to appear in the same plain and unmistakable manner, that the person sought to be extradited is an actual fugitive from justice;§ for a person who has only *constructively*, and not *actually*, fled from justice cannot be extradited.¶

The Federal Constitution and the laws of Congress explicitly declare that when any person charged with treason, felony or other crime,¶ in any State or territory, shall flee into another, the governor or executive authority of the State or territory to which he has fled, upon *demand* of the proper officer, accompanied by the proper papers, shall deliver the person so accused into the hands of the agent of the State or territory making the demand. The Federal Constitution and laws of

\* 9 Wend., 212. 3 *Law Bulletin*, 763.

† 18 *Albany L. J.*, 371.

‡ 56 *N. Y.*, 183. 31 *Vt.*, 279. 49 *Cal.*, 434 and 436. 48 *Ind.*, 123. 9 *Texas*, 635. 3 *Law Bulletin*, 192.

§ 2 *Tenn. Rep.*, 586. *Eart's Crown Law*, 837. 4 *Hill*, 9. 4 *Denis*, 529. 12 *Am. L. R.*, 602.

¶ Hurd's *Habeas Corpus*, (2d Ed.), 512. 12 *Am. L. R.*, 603. 19 *Albany L. J.*, 113. 3 *Law Bulletin*, 196.

▪ 112 *Mass.*, 409.

Congress, as the supreme law of the land, are addressed to the common-sense of the people, and were not designed, nor are they fit subjects, for trials of logical skill or visionary speculations. Yet, some assuming executives have arrogated to themselves a power which the Constitution does not grant, nor the laws of Congress secure, and exercised what they have been pleased modestly to term a discretion.\* That the duty is merely a ministerial one, and also a preliminary one; and that there *is no discretion* in the matter, is patent to the most obtuse.†

Chief-Justice Taney says: "Looking at the language of the clause, it is difficult to comprehend how any doubt could have arisen as to its meaning and construction. The words 'treason, felony or other crime,' in their plain and obvious import as well as in their legal and technical sense, embrace every act forbidden and made punishable by the law of the State. The word 'crime' itself includes every offence, from the highest to the lowest in the grade of offences; and includes what are called misdemeanors, as well as treason and felony."‡ It is plain that in this clause it was "intended to include every offence made punishable by the law of the State in which it was committed." Yet, in the face of this very obvious meaning, both in the letter and spirit of the Constitution and laws of Congress, some executives have had the effrontery, in furtherance of party prejudices, of an individual whim or perverted opinion, to assume a discretion in the matter, and say that it was intended that extradition should apply only to crimes that were recognized as such by the common law; others to crimes which are *malum in se*, and not to those which are merely *malum prohibitum*; others, to such crimes as are recognized as crimes by the laws of both States; others still, like Mr. Seward, that it was intended to apply only to such offences as were recognized as crimes by the laws of the State where and of which the demand is made.

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\* 24 How., 66.

† 24 How., 103. 16 Wall., 370. 13 Ga., 135. 32 N. Y., 145. 51 How. (N.Y.), 422.

‡ 24 How., 66.

This article of the Constitution is the legitimate offspring of the colonial arrangements; and, as the Supreme Court has well intimated,\* it was evidently intended to continue, consolidate, and perfect these experimental and immature measures.† If we observe closely Chief-Justice Marshall's first rule for the construction of constitutional provisions, and take a literal view of the words,‡ it is difficult to see how any doubt could have existed, or any controversy could possibly have arisen, as to its meaning and the character of the duty or obligation it imposed upon the States; for its language, it seems to us, is as imperative and clear as it could possibly have been made. The early colonial regulations out of which this provision of the Constitution grew, were also imperative and left no discretion in the matter. The whole history of the origin and growth of this provision, as well as the colonial administration of the principle, the opinion *pro re nata* § of Attorney-General Edmund Randolph, the friend and collaborator of Washington, and a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution, and the opinions || of those good and ancient fathers,—all show unmistakably that the intention and design was that this provision should be imperative, cutting off all discretion.¶ Equally imperative and unequivocal is the language of the bill reported by Geo. Cabot, of Massachusetts, January 9th, 1793,\*\* which became the law of the land by the signature of the president on February 12th, 1793, and has continued such to this day. ††

The letter and spirit of this provision of the Constitution and the law of 1793 impose upon the heads of the various States and territories, an obligation or duty, and that too with the exactness of a scientific formula; for the right granted to one State to demand from another a fugitive from justice who

\* 24 How., 66.

† 4 Harr., 572. 10 Serg. and Raw., 127. 14 Pet., 540 and 597.

‡ 12 Wheat., 419 and 437.

§ 20 *Am. St. Papers*, 43.

|| Madison's *Writings*, Vol. I, 66 *et seq.*

¶ *Vide* 5 Elliot's *Debates*, and 2 and 3 Madison's *Papers*.

\*\* *Abridgements of Debates*, 417. Lodge's *Life and Letters of Cabot*, 61.

†† *Rev. Stat. U. S.*, Sec. 5278.

may have sought an asylum within its borders, carries with it the corresponding duty or obligation to deliver up to the demanding State (on its presenting specified papers) the criminal sought. If in some things unreliable, Austin may safely be endorsed when he declares that every right implies a corresponding obligation or duty.\*

We think that the Supreme Court of Ohio have enthroned themselves upon an impregnable basis, as well as given to the Constitution and the law of 1793 an interpretation that accords perfectly both with the letter and spirit of the same, when they say:—

“If the governor of one State makes a requisition on the governor of another State for the surrender of a fugitive from justice, and the case is shown to be within the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and the Act of Congress on the subject, no discretion is vested in the latter governor, but it is his imperative duty to issue his warrant of extradition.”†

That the duty is obligatory, the office merely ministerial and not judicial, and that there is no discretion in the matter, is the doctrine that has ever obtained among lawyers, judges and text-writers.

It has long been well settled that an indictment found or an affidavit made, a copy of which has been certified to as authentic by the governor or chief magistrate of the State or territory where the indictment was found or the affidavit made—together with the proper demand, if manifestly within the prescribed form, are absolute evidence of crime, so far as extradition is concerned, and no tribunal outside of the State whose law has been infringed has any right or power to inquire into the truthfulness or sufficiency of the indictment or affidavit.‡ And it is a duty expressly enjoined by the Constitution on all officers and all tribunals of neighboring States and territories, to give full faith and credit to these proceedings in a sister State or territory.

\* Austin's *Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, Lecture I.

† 3 *Law Bulletin*, 276. 19 *Albany L. J.*, 10.

‡ 112 *Mass.*, 329 and 410. 241 *How. (U. S.)*, 107. 5 *Serg. and Raw.*, 62. 56 *N. Y.*, 187.

There are but three cases of any note on record in which this has not been done. Seward, while Governor of New York, and Dennison, while Governor of Ohio, each refused to honor a demand of the governor of a sister State for the delivery of an escaped slave; and very recently the governor of Massachusetts refused to honor the requisition from the governor of South Carolina for Hiram H. Kimpton, a fugitive from justice. With the first two of these three cases the public are sufficiently familiar. The facts in the last case are as follows:—

At Westfield, Massachusetts, on August 7th, 1878, Hiram H. Kimpton was arrested as a fugitive from justice, who had fled from South Carolina, and was held until the arrival from Governor Hampton of a requisition for his delivery. The requisition, together with a copy of an indictment found by a grand-jury and the certificate of authenticity by Governor Hampton, were referred by Governor Rice to Attorney-General Train to examine and report on as required by the General Statutes of Massachusetts.\* This reference of the papers to Mr. Train for his examination as to their form and adequacy, was construed by him to mean a regular hearing of the case; and the learned attorney-general of that Commonwealth, sitting as judge, in a foreign State, with no evidence and without the means of procuring any, save such as the alleged fugitive and his counsel thought proper to introduce, assumed the province of passing upon the sufficiency of an indictment found by a South Carolina grand-jury. His report to Governor Rice is as follows:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE,

BOSTON, Aug. 29, 1878.

*To His Excellency the Governor:*

SIR:—On the 10th instant I received from his honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, a communication inclosing a requisition from his Excellency the governor of South Carolina upon your Excellency for the rendition of one Hiram H. Kimpton, an alleged fugitive from justice, and I was requested to make an examination

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\* Chap. 117, Sec. 2.

and report under the provisions of the General Statutes, Chapter 117, Sec. 2.

In compliance with the request, I have heard fully the authorities of the State of South Carolina and the respondent, Kimpton, both parties appearing by eminent counsel. All facts deemed by them to be material were put in evidence, and a thorough discussion of the law upon the case has been had. I transmit herewith a report of the proceedings at the hearing as a part of this communication for your Excellency's consideration.

It was claimed on behalf of South Carolina that the requisition complied substantially and formally with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.\* In aid thereof, the requisition is accompanied by a copy of the indictment against John J. Patterson, Miles G. Parker, and Hiram H. Kimpton, for a crime committed against the laws of that State, within the State, in March, 1872, which indictment was found in August, 1877; also, an affidavit that Kimpton is a fugitive from justice of that State, and is within the limits of Massachusetts, and the papers are certified by the governor of South Carolina to be duly authenticated; and therefore it was claimed there was no discretion reposed in your Excellency, and that it was your imperative duty forthwith to issue a warrant of extradition, and cause respondent to be delivered to the agent of South Carolina. Should I adopt this doctrine, and so advise your Excellency, I must assume the statute of Massachusetts, which has now been in force for a period of seventy-five years, in aid of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States for the rendition of fugitives from justice, to be an unconstitutional law. Many of the States have no statute on this subject, while many of them have a statute substantially like our own, and it is not improbable that a statute by a State upon this subject is unnecessary. But I shall not presume to declare so ancient a law as our own to be unconstitutional, nor to disturb the practice under it, which is now well settled and thoroughly understood.

The authorities which are relied upon by the learned counsel of South Carolina are entitled to great consideration, but they are controlled by a more recent decision in the case of *Taylor v. Taintor*,† in which it is distinctly held that the executive of the State may exercise discretion in the rendition of a fugitive from justice. I am bound by the law of that case, as well as by our statutes, to inquire and report whether the party whose rendition is required is held in custody or is under recognizance to answer for any offence against the laws of this State, or of the United States, or by force of any civil process; and it is clear that if a party is so held, the executive may, at his discretion, decline to comply with the requisition. It is worthy of remark that in none

\* *Rev. Stat. U. S.*, Sec. 5275.

† 16 Wallace, 366.

of the cases cited was the question of executive discretion before the court, and its discussion is incidental, so that the doctrine claimed has never been judicially decided. The uniform practice of yourself and your predecessors, so far as I can ascertain, has been to exercise discretion in such cases, not only as to matters specifically named in the statute, but as to any matter which might or ought to control the judgment of the executive. A familiar illustration is to be found when a requisition is made for a party charged with the crime of obtaining property by false pretences. If it is manifest that rendition is sought to enable the prosecutor to collect a debt, and not with the intention of convicting an alleged fugitive of a crime with which he is charged, the uniform practice has been not to comply with the requisition. So, when an indictment has not been sought or found for several years after the alleged commission of a crime, unless satisfactory reasons appeared for a delay, and when an offence is so trivial in its character that it would be a perversion of this great power to put it in exercise, and when it appears that a requisition has been imprudently issued, or that it is for a purpose other and different from that which appears upon its face, a warrant of extradition has always been denied. Other illustrations might be given of the exercise of discretion by the executive in this behalf, but those already given are sufficient for my purpose.

As I have already said, the practice has been uniform since the passage of the first statute, in the year 1801, and the practice in other States of the Union, as I am advised, is the same.

Upon the most careful consideration which I am able to give the question presented, I feel bound to advise your Excellency that Chapter 177 of the General Statutes is constitutional, and that it is your duty to exercise sound discretion in its administration. In the present case, I find, and so report to your Excellency, that the requisition is in due form of law, and that Kimpton is not held in custody, or under recognizance to answer for any offence against the laws of this State, or the United States, or by force of any civil process. Were this the whole of the case, I should advise your Excellency that a warrant of extradition might properly issue, but I find, further, that the crime with which Kimpton stands charged, was committed in April, 1872, and that no attempt was made to prosecute him or his codefendants until August, 1877; nor does it appear that there is any present intention to try them upon the indictment. It does appear that, for many months, negotiations have been going on between the authorities of South Carolina and this respondent, under which he was offered immunity if he would return to that State and volunteer as a witness in her courts, and that this offer was renewed after his arrest here.

Upon all the evidence, I am of opinion that the indictment, when found, was for an ulterior purpose, which does not appear, and not for the purpose of trying him for any supposed crime

against the laws of that State. I, therefore, advise your Excellency that it is not expedient to comply with the request.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES R. TRAIN.\*

Governor Rice declined to honor the requisition, because in his judgment—which was in accord with that of the attorney-general—it was not the object in procuring the indictment to try the fugitive for the crime charged, but for another purpose—not because the requisition was in any way defective—as fully appears from the following letter to Governor Hampton :

*To His Excellency, Wade Hampton, Governor, Columbia, S. C. :*

SIR : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a requisition from your Excellency, bearing date the 8th day of August, instant, requesting the rendition of one Hiram H. Kimpton, an alleged fugitive from justice. The requisition was referred to the Attorney-General of this Commonwealth, in compliance with the statute thereof, to examine and report whether the same was in due form of law, and whether, upon the facts, the same should be complied with ; and that officer has reported to me, after a thorough examination of the law and of the facts in the case, that the practice of the executive of this Commonwealth has uniformly been to deny a requisition when it appears that the purpose of the requisition is other than, and different from, the trial of the alleged offender upon the indictment, a copy of which is annexed and made a part of the requisition. In the present case, in my judgment, the object in procuring the indictment against Patterson, Parker and Kimpton does not appear to be for the purpose of trying Kimpton for the crime charged against him, but for a different purpose. I feel it to be my duty, in the exercise of a sound discretion, to adhere to the practice of my predecessors, and I therefore respectfully decline to accede to your request.

I have the honor to remain

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

ALEXANDER H. RICE.

The evidence adduced before the learned Attorney-General Train, was in substance to the effect that Hiram H. Kimpton, Miles G. Parker and John J. Patterson were jointly indicted in August, 1877, for a conspiracy in 1872 to bribe members of the South Carolina legislature ; that in October, 1877, a requisition from Governor Hampton was honored by

\* *Daily Advertiser* (Boston), September 22d, 1878.

Governor Robinson, of New York, as was also a second requisition, sent by another agent in January, 1878; that Governor Hubbard, of Connecticut, honored a similar requisition made in March, 1878; that Kimpton knew of these warrants being out, and fled to Canada to escape arrest; that Kimpton, through one D. T. Corbin, in June, 1878, endeavored to secure immunity for himself, by making overtures to the authorities of South Carolina; said authorities, agreeing, if Kimpton would return to South Carolina and tell all he knew about the financial affairs of the State, and if said testimony should prove of any service in bringing any criminal to justice, and should be used, that all indictments against him should be dropped; but if such testimony should prove to be of no service to the State, and should not be used, that he should be permitted peaceably to return to the north, and things should remain as they were before. This proposition Kimpton rejected.

Kimpton and his counsel conceded that the requisition was regular and in due form; that the Massachusetts courts, and all others before which the question has come up, have held that whether the indictment is good is a question to be determined by the courts of the State sending the requisition. Their defence was that the object of the State, as shown by the negotiations of her authorities, was not to prosecute him for any crime he was supposed to have committed, but to secure him as a witness before the "Bond Court," which was created for the purpose of passing upon the bonded indebtedness of the State. This assertion was denied by South Carolina, and the attorney-general of that State, who was present at the trial before Mr. Train, expressly declared that he intended to try Kimpton on the indictment which had been found against him, and that he did not want him for any other purpose.

Ignoring the declaration of his brother in office from the south, Mr. Train says: "The crime with which Kimpton stands charged was committed in April, 1872, and no attempt was made to prosecute him or his codefendants, until August, 1877; nor does it appear that there is any present

intention to try them on the indictment." \* \* \* "I am of opinion that the indictment, when found, was for an ulterior purpose, which does not appear, and not for the purpose of trying him for any supposed crime against the laws of the State."

The fact that the crime for which Kimpton was indicted was committed in April, 1872, and that no attempt was made to prosecute him until August, 1877, is considered by Mr. Train a sufficient "train" of circumstances to warrant him in impugning the motive of the State, and in doubting or denying the express declarations of her authorities. But for the calm and judicial mind, they fall short of the required standard. Men of ordinary intellect, who are versed in the laws of language, skilled in dialectics, and familiar with the rules of evidence, are at a loss to understand what the declaration of the attorney-general meant; what the telegrams of Governor Hampton to Governor Rice, after the arrest, asking him to hold Kimpton until the arrival of the requisition, meant; what the indictment and attempted arrest meant, if they did not mean that Kimpton had transgressed the laws of the State, and that for this transgression the State sought to try him.

In the light of all the facts in the case, the conduct of Governor Rice is a violation of the principles of equity which ought to subsist between the States of the Union. He refused to perform an unmistakable duty, imposed upon him by the supreme law of the land, but which there is no sanction to enforce; while he assumed judicial powers which the Constitution does not grant and the laws of Congress do not secure; and impugned the sincerity and good faith of a sister State, which is expressly prohibited by the laws. These laws guarantee full faith and credit to all acts of the courts of the various States and territories.

But, let the bearings of the Hampton-Rice controversy be what they may, it is indispensable to the order and stability of society, as well as to the existence of comity between the State governments, that the provisions of the Constitution relative to interstate extradition of fugitives from justice should be recognized as the law of the land and preserved inviolate.

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## ART. VIII.—THE NEW EASTERN QUESTION.

1. *Official Returns of Egyptian Trade, 1870-79.*
2. *Egypt as it is.* By J. C. McCOAN.
3. *Afghanistan.* By A. G. CONSTABLE.
4. *Central Asia and the Russian Possessions There.*  
By CAPT. L. KOSTENKO.

ALL great political problems have a tendency to embody themselves in some one tangible symbol; and the so-called "Eastern Question," having once adopted the emblem of Constantinople, is popularly held to signify that and nothing more. But, in reality, the struggle of the Tartar and Slavonic races for the possession of the Bosphorus is only a small part of the mighty question at issue, viz.: the future destiny of the whole Oriental world. The real problem which now confronts Europe is simply this: "Given three hundred millions of men—to find a place and a use for them."

It is a trite truth, that the decay of a great system is often more formidable than its fullest vigor. A growing oak offers shade and shelter to all who approach it; the same oak, when it falls, crushes to death every living thing within the radius of its overthrow. It needs no demonstration to show that the long duel of armed Christianity with armed Heathenism has ended in the triumph of the former, and that the latter's strongest champion, Turkey, has virtually ceased to exist as an independent State, all its movements being either directly or indirectly controlled by Christian sovereigns and Christian statesmen. But this, far from being the end of the Eastern difficulty, is only its commencement. The impulse that once carried the followers of Mohammed into every capital from Jerusalem to Grenada, is indeed dead forever; but the ablest

political experts are still in doubt as to the best mode of disposing of the body.

There was a time, indeed, when this question involved no such perplexities. To the straightforward intellect of mediæval Europe, the one self-evident mode of dealing with non-Christian humanity was the simple method of extermination. "Death to the infidel!" was the watchword of every Christian warrior, from the Teutonic knights of the Vistula to the pious hidalgos of the Guadalquivir; and any one who had presumed to think otherwise, would have been either laughed at as an idiot or burned as a heretic. But this Cromwellian reform measure is no longer possible, and the aim of modern policy is not to destroy, but to utilize. The European Samson has rent in twain the lion of barbarism, and the bees of colonization, traffic, and industry, are beginning to hive in the carcass. Christian France has conquered Moslem Algeria. Christian Russia has annexed Pagan Tartary. Christian England is mistress of both Bramin and Mohammedan India. Even the countries which still remain independent—fire-worshipping Persia, bigoted Egypt, "Suni" \* Afghanistan, Buddhistic China—are all beginning to feel the universal influence; and the new world, like another Æneas, is supporting the decrepit age of the old world upon its strong shoulders. The haunting "Eastern Question" has embodied itself in a new form. It is no longer "Who shall have Constantinople?" but "Who shall have Egypt and Central Asia?" In the former case, the rival claimants are England and France; in the latter, England and Russia.

It must be owned that such prizes are worth contending for. Since Alexander the Great changed the course of the world's commerce by substituting Alexandria for Tyre, the value of Egypt, whether as an important strategic centre or as a great commercial highway, has never been more conspicu-

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\* The Shiah sect, which is strong in Persia, reveres as a saint Mohammed's son-in-law Ali, who is rejected by the Sunis. To such a height has this feud been carried, that an Afghan chief, when entreated by an English officer to spare the life of one of his Persian captives, replied sternly: "Were this dog only an unbeliever, Sahib, you should be obeyed; but, being a Shiah, he must die!"

ous than now. Its soil is preëminently fertile. Its northern provinces are traversed by seventeen well-constructed railroads. The possession of the Nile gives it a direct and commodious highway into the very heart of Africa. Its situation between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, within two days' voyage of Italy and three of Constantinople, makes it the natural thoroughfare of east and west, just as Syria was in the days of caravans. What such a country might be in capable hands, it is difficult to overstate; what it is in non-capable hands, those who have seen it can judge for themselves. To it, even more justly than to Spain, may be applied the bitter old Spanish proverb, "God gave it a bad government, lest the angels should forsake heaven to settle there."

The late czar's attempt to use Egypt as a bribe to secure England's connivance at his designs upon Turkey in 1853, showed how its importance was then appreciated; but it had been even more markedly recognized by the first Napoleon, who, in 1798, made Lower Egypt the base of the most colossal of all his schemes of conquest. Marching toward Syria along the coast, and reducing the seaboard fortresses one by one, he meant to raise all Asia Minor in revolt against the sultan, to overwhelm Turkey with levies of native troops consolidated by his French veterans, and then, seating himself upon the throne of Constantinople, to fall with all the might of the revived Byzantine Empire upon England's Asiatic possessions. But these mighty possibilities vanished like a dream before the hard, practical logic of Sir Sidney Smith's defence of Acre, and Nelson's victory at Aboukir; and the same scheme, revived on a smaller scale in 1839, by the restless genius of Egypt's greatest ruler, Mehemet Ali Pasha, was a second time shattered by the sword of England, whose chief ally on that occasion, singularly enough, was her former opponent France.

And now, in the fulness of time, the affairs of Egypt are under consideration once more, and France and England are again the presiding judges. It is natural enough that "the key of the East," as the Nile valley was justly styled by Napoleon, should be jealously watched by the two great

powers, and that neither should be willing to let it pass absolutely into the hands of the other. Of the two, England has undoubtedly the best claims, whether as the mistress of India, or as the owner of the lion's share of Egypt's foreign trade. But France, too, has rights of her own, which are not to be despised. The Suez Canal was a purely French enterprise, and is still partly in French hands. On the roll of Egyptian commerce, France stands second to England herself, and far above every other nation, not excepting even Austria.

The official returns of native traffic for 1878 give a total of \$22,465,000, of which England is credited with \$12,905,000, and France with \$4,040,000. The exports during the same period amounted to \$63,750,000, of which England's share was \$45,280,000, and that of France \$7,820,000. Moreover, the French empire in India actually preceded that of Britain, and the countrymen of Lally and Dupleix still retain some fragments of their once magnificent Oriental dominion; nor have they ever wholly relinquished the hope of one day enlarging these into something not altogether unworthy of their former consequence in the East.

To effect any compromise, where both parties are so deeply interested, may well appear difficult; but it is possible nevertheless. England has already annexed Cyprus; France wishes to annex Tunis. Were the two powers, thus holding a flanking position on either side of the disputed territory, to establish a joint protectorate over it, supported by a powerful allied cruising squadron in Levantine waters, a permanent barrier would be opposed to Russian ambition, and the lives and property of Oriental Christians secured far more effectually than by any Turkish "guarantee," made only to be broken. The projected Euphrates Valley Railroad might then, like the Suez Canal, be held in common; and the down-trodden fellaheen of Egypt and Syria would hail with joy the advent of a government which would neither grind out their last *para* by over-taxation, nor kill them by inches with forced labor.\*

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\* This is no figure of speech. The famous Mahmoodieh Canal, by which Mehemet Ali connected Alexandria with the interior of the Delta, was con-

To elevate the imbruted native population, indeed, will undoubtedly be a hard task; but it is worth attempting. Men of superhuman patience and frugality, trained from childhood to obey without hesitation, and to bear the sorest hardships and sufferings without complaint, have in them the material which forms good soldiers and good citizens. What they can do in the former capacity, under a competent leader, was amply shown by the wonderful campaign of 1839; what they may be in the latter, under a competent administration, the world may hereafter learn to its amazement.

Nor are these the only benefits derivable from a European protectorate of Egypt. Such a measure would break the very main-spring of the ferocious Moslem propagandism which, within the last twelvemonth, has kindled the flames of a fierce though short-lived rebellion in every country from Syria to Morocco. Islam, like Christendom, has a Nihilism of its own, similar in organization, although diametrically opposite in purpose. The European Nihilist aims at overthrowing the established order of things; his Mussulman counterpart perils limb and life to preserve it. All reforms, all improvements, are a deadly offence to this gloomy conservatism, which is even more bitter against Moslem rulers suspected of being under Christian influence (such as the ex-khedive of Egypt) than against the Christians themselves.

The machinery of this formidable system is composed of five secret societies, viz.: the Khowan, which has its seat at Mecca, the Abd'ul-Kader of Bagdad, planted in the city whose name it bears, the Bektashi and Issawiye, which centre in Yemen, the southernmost province of Arabia, and the terrible Darkawi (justly styled the Jesuit order of Islam) which has appropriately fixed itself in that hot-bed of Moslem bigotry, the miniature Empire of Morocco. All these societies, like the mediæval Templars and the modern Jesuits, have been gradually transformed from purely religious

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structed in this way, and cost, on the lowest estimate, upwards of twenty thousand lives. The writer, himself, when crossing Lower Egypt, in 1870, saw thousands of Arabs, including many gray-headed men and not a few children, laboring to repair the breach made by a flood in the Nile embankment, and lashed without mercy by the whips of their native overseers.

brotherhoods into formidable political engines; and many of their directors are themselves freethinkers of the boldest type, while stimulating and utilizing the religious enthusiasm which they despise. Every year the deputies of the five orders meet at Mecca to arrange their future operations, brought by Christian steamers and Christian railways to plot the ruin of Christianity, and concert the murder or deposition of any Moslem ruler who may have dared to think of reform. The central position of Egypt, and its nearness to their great rendezvous at Mecca, render it a chosen field for the operations of these political Thugs, whose plots, almost unimpeded by the feeble and capricious rule of the late khedive, require the strong hand of European discipline to check them; and this want would be most effectually supplied by the joint protectorate already suggested.

The question of the final disposal of Central Asia (which represents the centre of Mohammedanism in the east as Egypt does in the west) is much less easily settled. In this latter case the conflicting claimants are mortal enemies instead of friendly rivals; and whereas Egypt is in no case to make any resistance to European intervention, the opposition likely to be offered by the fierce mountain-races of the Hindoo-Koosh will not be easily overcome. Overcome, indeed, it must ultimately be; but whether by England or by Russia, the future alone can decide.

It is worth while to notice, however, the strange and almost ludicrous manner in which the present difficulty has evolved itself from an arrangement that had apparently settled the affairs of the East once and forever. The power of Britain was supreme as far north as the Himalaya, that of Russia as far south as the Oxus; and it would certainly have been difficult to find two natural frontiers more strongly marked or more easily defended. Between them lay the savage mountain tract of Afghanistan, which, poor, unproductive, lawless, possessing no advantages that could repay the cost and labor of its conquest, seemed formed by nature to be a neutral zone between the two great masters of Asia. For a time, both were content to leave it such; but this wise

policy was soon abandoned. In 1872, the Ameer Shere Ali, frightened by the real or imaginary support given by Russia to the claimants of his crown, applied to England for help. Russia at once took the alarm, suspecting England of intending to interfere actively in the affairs of Afghanistan. England, in her turn, conceived the same suspicion of Russia; and the mutual distrust thus engendered was heightened by every new precaution adopted on either side, till at length the reciprocal attitude of the two powers realized to the letter Thackeray's famous definition of the War of the Spanish Succession, as "two kings perpetually running away from each other."

But, however commenced, this strange dispute must inevitably be carried through to the end. Nothing can now push back the two rivals to the status of 1871; and both are working vigorously to secure the ground which they have severally gained. England has projected a railway from the western border of India, through the Bolan Pass, to Quetta and Kandahar, which would enable her to pour her troops at will into the very heart of Afghanistan. Russia is preparing to open herself a direct military highway into the interior of Central Asia, by once more diverting the Oxus into the Caspian Sea. She has likewise despatched two expeditions against the great caravan centre of Merv (the nominal capital of the Tekke-Turkomans), which, whether as occupying the sole habitable spot in the great central desert, or as commanding the only direct approach to Herat from the north, down the valley of the Moorgh-Ab, is unquestionably one of the most important strategic points on the Afghan border.

In conducting this advance—ostensibly aimed at Merv, but really at Herat itself—Russia has shown her matchless powers of diplomacy more strikingly than ever. England has been repeatedly warned of the vital importance of securing Herat, and has at length begun to awake to the necessity of doing so. Such a step would have checkmated Russia's designs at the very outset; and it thus became indispensable to divert the efforts of England into another channel. This purpose was admirably served by the Kabul tragedy of last Autumn. The

guilty city at once assumed an exaggerated importance in British eyes, and England concentrated all her energy upon a secondary and comparatively worthless object, while Russia strode forward to the real goal, which, but for her unforeseen defeat by the Turkomans at Geok-Tepe, she would in all probability have reached already.

The prestige of Kabul as the nominal capital of Afghanistan (which has in reality no capital whatever) has invested it with an importance more properly due to Herat; but this factitious consequence is literally the only recommendation which it possesses. Lying in the midst of an open plain, it is completely exposed to any advance of Russian troops from the north-west, while its sole direct line of communication with British India lies through a succession of gloomy and terrific ravines, swarming with fierce guerrillas, and liable to be rendered impassable by a single heavy snow-storm.

With Herat the case is far otherwise. As a strategic point, its central position on the great southern road from Merv into the interior, three hundred and sixty miles west of Kabul, and one hundred and ninety south-east of the great Persian city of Meshid, gives it the command both of eastern Persia and western Afghanistan. As a centre of traffic, it is the meeting-point of four great commercial highways, and the recognized mart for the wares of Russia, Turkey and Persia on one side, and those of China, Afghanistan, and British India on the other. As a fortress, its commanding position upon a rocky plateau twenty-five hundred feet above the sea, and the once formidable though now ruinous walls that surround it, have enabled it to hold out more than once against a force which had subdued every other part of the country. It holds the direct route to Kandahar (three hundred and fifty miles distant), the natural, and formerly the actual, Afghan metropolis. In all ages, Herat has been the chosen basis of an advance upon India from the north, and the first point aimed at alike by native insurgents and foreign invaders.\* Such a prize is well worth striking for;

\* Herat has been twice besieged by the Persians, who actually got possession of it in October, 1856, but were compelled by England to restore it six

and there can be no doubt that, were Russia to yield to England, in exchange for it, not merely Kandahar and Kabul, but all the rest of Afghanistan likewise, the bargain would still be greatly in her favor.

That such is Russia's own conviction, her recent utterances prove beyond a doubt. A few months ago, she intimated to England her willingness to "permit the destruction of Kabul," while at the same time demanding an assurance that England "will not occupy Herat"—a fair index, indeed, to her own estimate of the relative value of both cities. This opinion is manifestly shared by another power which may yet become formidably important in the pending contest, viz.: Persia. The acquisition of Herat has for years been the latter's main object, both from its own intrinsic value, and as a means of dealing a heavy blow to her hereditary enemies, the Afghans. The mutual hatred of the two races, embittered by the religious feud already mentioned, is the growth of centuries; and neither the Afghan conquest of Persia in 1720, nor the crushing counter-stroke of Nadir Shah ten years later, can be easily forgotten by either.

Such an ally, so situated, is just what England requires. Years ago, Mr. Edward Eastwick, a man who knew Persia thoroughly, urged upon the British Government the importance of securing the friendship of a State which holds toward Russia in India the same formidable flanking position that Austria holds in Europe. But England neglected the golden opportunity, and Russia seized it. The capture of Tabriz, and the humiliating treaty of Turkmentchai, reduced the shah to the dependent position in which he still remains.

Even now, however, it is not quite too late. Persia, conquered and humbled, has no love for her conqueror, and would readily turn against her if assured of powerful support from without. An offer on England's part to guarantee the shah the possession of long-coveted Herat, would be amply sufficient to secure the latter's coöperation; and an Anglo-

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months later. It was also the centre of the rebellion kindled in 1874 against the Ameer Shere Ali by his sons Yakoob and Ayoob Khan, the latter of whom still holds his court there.

Persian alliance, supported by a British subsidy and a British contingent, would serve at once to repress the Afghans on the one hand, and to checkmate the Russians on the other. But Russia is quite as well aware of all this as England herself. It was not by accident that the former paraded all her power and splendor before the shah's wondering eyes in 1873, immediately *previous* to his first visit to London. It was not by accident that one of her leading journals recently proposed to give Herat to Persia in exchange for a strip of territory south of the Attreck, which might facilitate an advance upon Merv from the Caspian—thus anticipating England in the use of the very weapon which the latter might herself have employed against Russia. Nor does the cabinet of St. Petersburg rely solely upon its diplomatic abilities, wonderful as they are. The same Russian journal which lately announced that "the influence of Britain was believed to be supplanting that of Russia at the Court of Teheran," significantly added that troops were being massed in the Caucasus, "as a precaution in the event of a possible rupture with Persia."

The foregoing facts may suffice to show that Gen. Roberts' recent successes, so far from being the end of the Anglo-Afghan difficulty, are merely its commencement. Kabul is again taken, the treacherous ameer virtually a prisoner, the blood-stained citadel a heap of ruins, the Afghan throne without an occupant. But, with all this, the troublesome problem is as far from a satisfactory solution as ever. Indeed, the mere question of the succession (now that Yakoob Khan has himself resigned the thankless eminence at which he grasped so eagerly a few months ago) is no slight difficulty in itself. The natural claimants are three in number—Ayooob Khan, Yakoob's brother, Abd'-ul-Rahman, his first cousin, and Ahmed Ali, his nephew.

The first named of this trio, Ayooob, is also the least important, having been, from first to last, nothing more than a tool of his designing brother the ex-ameer. When the latter, suspected of complicity in the revolts of Abd'-ul-Rahman and Mohammed Isa Khan, fled in 1870 from the court of his father, Shere Ali, to Herat, he was accompanied by Ayooob,

who sided with him during the subsequent rebellion, and even held Herat for him after its failure.\* But both in resolution and in natural ability he is immeasurably inferior to his nephew Ahmed Ali, the son of Shere Ali's eldest son Mohammed. The latter, now a handsome, intelligent, and well-educated youth of twenty, is already spoken of as the probable choice of the British Government, his only brother being disqualified by the fact of his having been born deaf and dumb. To such a selection, however, Russia would infallibly oppose Abd'ul-Rahman, who has become pretty thoroughly Russianized during his prolonged residence at Tashkent, where he has lived upon a yearly pension of \$15,000 allowed him by the Russian Government, ever since his expulsion from Afghanistan by his uncle Shere Ali in January, 1869.

All these complications, however, are merely the natural and inevitable result of England's ill-judged attempt to unite two incompatible agencies, material coercion and moral obligation. Not without reason did Machiavelli assert that "nothing is more unwise than half-way severities, the only safe blows to inflict upon men or nations being those which are too heavy to be avenged." The force brought to bear upon Afghanistan last Winter was just sufficient to exasperate without subduing it; and hence the necessity of doing the work over again. Left to itself, Afghanistan would probably have troubled the masters of India but little; completely conquered and beaten down, it would have troubled them still less. But to think of binding the fierce Kabulis by "moral guarantees," or to expect a treacherous murderer like Yakoob Khan to keep his word under any suasion less potent than that of levelled bayonets, matches the crowning freak of Philip of Burgundy. That great ruler, we are told, baptized his pet leopard, and then allowed it to run at large, in the firm belief that it would never again molest its biped fellow-Christians, till a sudden demonstration against his own anointed person scared him into supplementing the baptism with a bullet.

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\* Of Shere Ali's five sons, Yakoob and Ayoob are now the only survivors, two of the others having been killed in battle, while the father's special favorite, Abd'-Allah Jan, died in August, 1878.

The fact is, that this wild region has been mistaken by its British neighbors for a homogeneous State, whereas it is merely an incongruous medley of diverse and not unfrequently hostile clans. Any English statesman who, a century ago, should have treated the Highlands of Scotland as one organized whole, would have committed a precisely similar error. The subjugation of the Ghiljies of Ghazni and Kabul will have as little effect upon the Duranis of the Hindoo-Koosh, or the Kiptchaks of the Kashgar-Davan, as the overthrow of the Campbells would have had upon the Camerons or the Macdonalds. It is this which makes the Afghan problem so formidable. To march upon the capital of a civilized State, is like facing a wild beast which can be killed by a shot through heart or brain; to battle with a nation of guerrillas is to strike at a jelly-fish, which has neither blood, brain, nor heart, and must be dismembered piecemeal. The capture of Paris overthrew France at a blow; but with hostile garrisons in every city from Badajoz to Pampeluna, Spain still fought on. Afghanistan is the Spain of Central Asia, and its present condition shows how little "decisive victories" have availed the invaders.

English officialism still deprecates the idea of actual conquest; but it can hardly be expected that Britain should waste blood and treasure, year after year, in sending her troops to repress the disorders of men whose yataghans are at every English throat the moment a bayonet is withdrawn from their own. "The conquest of Afghanistan," says the St. Petersburg *Golos*, the most accurate and far-sighted of Russian semi-official journals, "has now become a fatal necessity;" and the rebellion kindled last September in the three northern provinces by Russia's influence, shows that she is well-disposed to make it as fatal to the conqueror as to the conquered. In fact, what Russia really desires is to avoid both the trouble of holding Afghanistan herself, and the danger of letting it fall to England, by keeping it as a neutral zone between the two frontiers, under a ruler ostensibly independent, but secretly controlled in every action by Russian diplomacy.

It is precisely in such points as these that Russia shows

her superiority. Both nations began their career in the East with a full recognition of the important axiom, that an Asiatic must be regarded *as* an Asiatic, and not as a European. But while Russia has steadfastly adhered to this principle from first to last, England has long since departed from the wise policy that gave her the empire of India. Lord Clive and Warren Hastings met craft with superior craft, force with superior force; and the result was the victory of Plassey and the conquest of Bengal. Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough and their successors, attempted to conciliate human tigers, relied upon the pledges of men to whom falsehood was a second nature, and imposed "moral obligations" upon a class which had as little moral sense as a crocodile. The result was the Khoord-Kabul massacre of 1842, and the Sepoy mutiny of 1857.

That diplomacy should be tried previous to force, is the maxim alike of common-sense and humanity. But while England was driven to appeal to force as a remedy for the blunders of diplomacy, Russia only employed force to secure what diplomacy had already won. Not a shot was fired to coerce the Georgians of 1801, or the Kirghiz of 1862, into seeking her protection, and calling themselves her subjects; but when once they *had* done so, ball and bayonet were freely used against all who attempted to molest them. Had General Ignatieff been Viceroy of Kabul in 1841, instead of Sir William McNaghten, the destruction of the British army would never have occurred. Had Sir William been sent to negotiate General Ignatieff's treaty of 1857 with the Ameer of Bokhara, he would have drawn upon himself the same fate that overtook him in Afghanistan.

Nor are these startling contrasts to be wholly accounted for (though they may undoubtedly be so to a considerable extent) by the hackneyed theory that the Russian is a born diplomatist, and that his semi-Asiatic nature gives him a peculiar aptitude for dealing with Oriental races. All this is true enough; but surely any man of average intelligence can discover for himself, without being either a diplomatist or a semi-Asiatic, that men are wont to prefer those who respect

their feelings and opinions to those who are perpetually contradicting and affronting them. The former has been Russia's habitual method; the latter, most unfortunately, has been that of England.

Why this is so, may be seen at a glance. To the sturdy common-sense of the Anglo-Saxon, proud of his freedom from all "humbug," and somewhat too prone to stigmatize as humbug whatever differs from his own ideas, nothing can be more absurd than the spectacle of a man who thinks the eating of a beefsteak more damnable than fifty murders, shudders at the thought of being contaminated by drinking from the cup of a European, singes off a tiger's whiskers to prevent its ghost from haunting him, and reveres monkeys, oxen, and the waters of a river. But although such things may be called trifles, even trifles are worth noticing when they can produce such a convulsion as that of 1857. To an educated Russian, the childish superstitions of the Oriental are as contemptible as to any Englishman; but he has nevertheless the tact to humor them, and herein lies the secret of his success. While holding fast the substantial advantages which are precious to *her*, Russia wisely concedes to her vassals the all-important trifles which are so precious to *them*; and thus both parties are equally satisfied. This sagacious policy is very aptly exemplified by the remark of a noted Russian officer, who has for a long time held an important post in Central Asia. A friend having expressed some surprise at the popularity which the general, despite his proverbial severity, manifestly enjoyed among the natives, the latter quietly answered: "Well, you see, whenever any native comes to me with a complaint, I let him say his say out to the very end, without interrupting him; for I find that these fellows prefer a little oppression to having their words cut short."

Such, then, is the situation. That the affairs of Central Asia can be finally settled without some actual trial of strength between its two rival claimants, seems almost impossible; but whichever may remain the conqueror, the gain to civilization will unquestionably be immense. Allusion has already been made to the Russian scheme of turning the Oxus once again

into the Caspian Sea, and the British counter-project of a railway from the Anglo-Indian frontier through the Bôlan Pass to Kandahar. The importance of two such enterprises—the one bringing the very centre of Afghanistan within easy reach of British India, while the other throws open its northern and more inaccessible portion to a direct communication with European Russia—can hardly be overrated. The extinction of independent Mohammedanism in Central Asia, thus caught as it were between two fires, would then be a mere question of time; and the last great stronghold of eastern barbarism would be laid open, once for all, to the advance of western civilization.

Granting the power of the Oxus, after so many years of progressive diminution, to furnish a volume of water capable of traversing the additional length of channel assigned to it, the Russian project is feasible enough; and its accomplishment will put the coping-stone to the great edifice which she has been rearing so long and so laboriously in the far East. Up to the present time, local conditions of soil and climate have forced the conquerors of Turkistan to cling to the few rivers that break the savage sterility of the great central desert; and thus the territory actually held by Russia bears the same proportion to the whole country as the rind to the apple. Between and around the two great arteries of the Syr-Daria and the Oxus—which converge toward each other like two outstretched hands meeting at the finger-tips—lies a boundless waste of steppe, over which the Kirghiz and the Turkoman roam at will; and in order to complete the structure of Asiatic Russia, these void places must be thoroughly filled in.

The means of achieving this—the studding of the eastern shore of the Caspian with military posts, the connecting of it with the Black Sea by prolonging the Poti-Tiflis railway to Baku, the conquest of Khiva, and its conversion into a stepping-stone toward Merv and Badakhshan—have been present to Russia's mind for years past. Already the hardest part of the work is accomplished. Khiva and the lower Oxus are in Russian hands. The great plain of Ust-Urt, lying between them and the Caspian, has been pretty effectually "pacified" by

constant raids from the posts of Mangishlak, Krasnovodsk and Tehikishliar. The pending advance up the Attreck to Merv (about five hundred miles in a direct line) offers no natural obstacles worthy of mention, except the passage of the Merv desert itself, while the opposition of the robber-tribes of Khorasan may be laughed at by a well-appointed Russian detachment. Merv once occupied, its communications with the Caspian established by a chain of forts along the Attreck, and the Oxus traversed by Russian gunboats, Russia will have an admirable post from which to observe Afghanistan and India, while her control of Persia will enable her at the same time to watch England's progress in the Euphrates valley.

The natural base for these operations is, of course, the Caucasus, formerly the Afghanistan of eastern Europe, and seemingly the most impregnable of all the remaining centres of independent Mohammedanism. But Russia's tenacity has proved more than a match for even the fierce energy of fanaticism, and her hold upon this wild region is now sufficiently firm to leave her no excuse for resorting to the cruel precaution of a wholesale deportation of the native tribes to some distant region. Another Schamyl is as impossible as another Mohammed; and the ill-concerted and abortive revolt of 1877 shows that the time for such attempts has gone by for ever. Already a splendid military road, practicable for artillery, crosses the very backbone of the great range from Tiflis to Vladikavkaz; and when the completion of the North-western Railway *via* Stavropol shall connect both points with the Don valley and Moscow (rendering it possible to reënforce at will the one hundred and sixty-seven thousand troops that garrison the Caucasus) Russia's new base will be complete.

Nor is the commercial aspect of the scheme less inviting than its military side. The diversion of the Oxus into the Caspian, if successful, may be supplemented by a realization of M. de Lesseps' famous project of an "Orenburg-Samarcand Railway," bridging the Kirghiz steppes from the Ural to the mouth of the Syr-Daria, and thence following the course of the great river itself. The men and machinery

which they have so long lacked would then be supplied to the rich mines of iron, lead, copper, silver, and coal, in the mountains dividing Turkistan from China. The Oxus, navigable as far as the junction of the Ak-Sarai, near the town of Koondooz in north-eastern Afghanistan, would serve as an admirable highway for the trade of Bokhara, which even now has an annual value of nearly \$30,000,000. The embryo silk-factories of Khodjent, the undeveloped mines of rubies and lapis-lazuli in Badakhshan, would be fairly opened at last. Kashgar, now once more in Chinese hands, would readily accord to Russian merchants the privileges that they formerly sought in vain from the watchful suspicion of its Mussulman usurper, Yakooob Beg; and Russian Turkistan, hitherto only a source of enormous expense, might become one of the most profitable among the eastern possessions of the czar.

The Kandahar Railway, again, although perhaps more important from a strategic than a commercial point of view, will undoubtedly, when completed, become a most efficient pioneer of civilization. Nor does it present any natural obstacles that can be regarded as serious by a generation which has seen the Mont Cenis Tunnel and the Suez Canal. Its total length will be barely three hundred and thirty miles, for the most part through a perfectly practicable country, the real difficulty being the passage of the famous Bolan Pass, which forms the southern, as the Khybar forms the eastern, gateway of Afghanistan.

The natural starting-point of the line is the city of Shikarpoor (Hunter's Town) on the right bank of the Indus, and about forty miles from the frontier of Beloochistan, the easternmost angle of which interposes itself at this point between Afghanistan and India. The intervening country is an alluvial plain, intersected by the countless tributaries of the Indus; but beyond the frontier the spurs of the Hala range break up the surface into a rugged and hilly tract, about one hundred miles in width, culminating at length in the formidable precipices that wall in the Bolan Pass.

The steepness and ruggedness of this famous gorge (which, with a length of 50 miles, has an ascent of 90 feet in the

mile, and rises at one point to a height of 5,793 feet above the sea) combine with the dashing and foaming of the turbulent river that rushes through it, to make its difficulties appear more formidable than they really are. How easily they may be surmounted, has been shown by the successful passage of the defile, during the Afghan campaign of 1839, by a British detachment with a considerable train of artillery. Once past the fortress of Quettah, which commands the northern entrance of the gorge, the rest of the work is easy enough. A few small rivers to be bridged, a few rocky ridges to be crossed—and the way is clear to Kandahar, towards which the railway is advancing at the rate of a mile daily.

The importance of this city to the future masters of Afghanistan is evident at a glance. Its situation in the midst of a fertile plain, with an abundant supply of water from two canals, marks it as an excellent site for a standing camp. It forms a natural "half-way house" to either Herat or Kabul, lying three hundred and fifty miles to the south-east of the former, and two hundred and twenty to the south-west of the latter, while the prolongation of the railway to either point is a perfectly feasible undertaking. Finally, it has a special importance in the eyes of the Afghans themselves, as their metropolis during the most glorious period of their national history—bearing, in fact, the same relation to Kabul as Moscow to St. Petersburg. The establishment of direct communication between British India and this great national centre, opening up at one stroke a country as large as Germany, must infallibly work wonders for the cause of civilization. The railroad has already proved itself, in every part of the world, the most powerful of all civilizing agents; and it may safely be predicted, that the exclusiveness of creed will avail as little against it in Afghanistan, as the exclusiveness of caste has availed in British India, where the high-class Bramin may now be seen travelling side by side with the Sudra workman, whose very presence he would once have regarded as an inexpiable contamination.

With this great national highway once opened to the south of the Oxus, and the Orenburg-Samarcand line in operation to

the north of it—with a railway from the south seaboard of the Caspian to Teheran, and thence eastward *via* Meshid to join the Afghan system at Herat, while Russian steamers periodically descend the Volga and ascend the Oxus—Asia would indeed have a chance of development such as she has never had before. Nor is this picture by any means visionary or Utopian. The project of a railway through Persia has been repeatedly discussed, and the shah is understood to look upon it with favor. The Anglo-Indian lines have already overcome obstacles far more formidable than any which present themselves in Afghanistan or Central Asia; and the strong hand of western discipline may be trusted to overmatch any opposition which eastern lawlessness or fanaticism may offer.

In Mohammedan Africa, again, a similar movement is making rapid progress. Lower Egypt is already one great network of converging lines, which is gradually extending itself up the Nile. A railway now runs parallel with the Algerian coast, linking Oran to Algiers, while Constantine, the eastern capital of the province, is similarly connected with more than one of the principal seaports. Another line is being carried eastward to the frontier of Tunis, to meet the western railway in process of construction from the capital of that State, which France makes no secret of her intention to annex sooner or later. Tunis once annexed, Tripoli must inevitably follow, and the influence of Christendom will thus become predominant along the whole African seaboard from Syria to Morocco.

Even these colossal results, however, are very far from solving the question of the future destiny of the Moslem world. The Mussulman nations of Africa and Asia, although they may cease to be independent, cannot cease to exist; and a few plain statistics will suffice to show how weighty a responsibility the bare fact of their existence will impose upon their Christian rulers. The British possessions in Asia, including Farther India and the adjacent islands, contain, in round numbers, 210,000,000 souls. The portion of Central Asia lying north of the Oxus has a population of 18,300,000, of which 10,730,000 belong to the actual dominions of Russia,

and the remainder to the districts which are still nominally independent. The population of Afghanistan is variously rated at from 4,000,000 to 7,500,000, the former being probably the more reliable estimate. Turning from Asia to Africa, we find that Egypt—including, of course, the recently annexed territory in the Soudan—musters 8,000,000 inhabitants. Tripoli contributes 750,000 more, Tunis 2,000,000, Algeria 2,921,241; and an aggregate of these figures gives us the formidable total of 245,971,241 human beings, who either are, or shortly will be, under the control of Europe, differing widely from each other in race, religion and habits, often bitterly hostile to one another, but always at least equally so to the “infidels” of the west. It needs no very profound sagacity to perceive, that the governing and civilizing of so vast and incongruous a multitude will prove a far harder task than their subjugation has been.

Some critics, it is true, with the fluent readiness of utter ignorance, settle this complicated question easily enough. “All that we have to do,” say they, “is to make laws, and then enforce strict obedience to them.” This is easily said, without doubt; but it is not quite so easily done. Ancient Rome tried the same method with the Jews, and the result was the bloodiest rebellion chronicled in history. The Papacy tried it with mediæval Europe, and the result was the loss of half its empire by the great schism of the Reformation. England tried it with her Asiatic subjects, and the result was the nameless horrors of Delhi and Cawnpore.

Nor must it be forgotten that to “make laws” is by no means the perfectly simple matter which these *coup-de-main* politicians seem to imagine it, especially when we consider for whom, and by whom, those laws are in the present case to be made. Laws made by a Hottentot would hardly be calculated to meet the requirements of an Esquimaux; and such an idea is not a whit more paradoxical than that of an ordinary nineteenth-century Englishman legislating for the benefit of a race which thinks, speaks, and acts precisely as its founders did four thousand years ago—which swears by “Ganges water,” regards the killing of a cow for food as the blackest of all

crimes, shrinks from the very touch of a man of inferior caste, and holds a creed in which there are actually more gods to be worshipped than there are men to worship them.

Nor is this the sole or even the chief difficulty to be encountered. The obstacles of alien blood and religious bigotry, sufficiently formidable in themselves, are tripled by that indomitable pride of race which made the Tartar rulers of Turkistan refuse to receive envoys from Russia, and which, during the great convulsion of 1857, sent so many brave and honorable men into the ranks of the mutineers, in the vain hope of restoring the vanished glories of the Mogul dynasty. With all his overwhelming power, the Anglo-Saxon conqueror of the East is still a mere upstart in the eyes of Hindoo princes whose forefathers wore the crown before the birth of Solomon, or of Moslem warriors whose countrymen were bearding the Greek emperor in his own palace, in days when the ancestors of Lord Salisbury were munching acorns amid the forests of the Elbe, and when those of Lord Beaconsfield were being pelted home to their dens by the rabble of Constantinople.

What, then, should be done? Precisely what is beginning to be done now, and what, but for human folly and shortsightedness, might have been done equally well a hundred years ago. That the Eastern world may be properly governed, it must be made to feel an influence which it has never felt yet—that of supremacy without tyranny. Once fully convinced that he is in the grasp of an irresistible power, equally able to protect him against any enemy while he remains loyal, and to punish him despite the aid of any ally, should he prove disobedient, the Oriental, steeped in fatalism from his very birth, will resign himself to the inevitable as readily as he has always done, and none the less so when he finds himself, for the first time, under a rule which can be strict without becoming oppressive. It is true that both time and labor are needed to obliterate the fatal conviction, branded into the soul of every Asiatic by centuries of cruelty, that those who treat him with kindness must necessarily do so from *fear*. But even this prejudice must ultimately yield to the constant spectacle of a

power which sustains the weakest while overmatching the strongest—a spectacle not less convincing in our own day than it was, ages ago, in the person of Shah Nushirvan, or of Mahmoud the Ghaznevide.

So much, then, for the government of the future empire, a subject upon which we have already touched elsewhere.\* It remains for us to notice, as briefly as possible, the most efficacious means for its civilization.

It is not less true of a nation than of an individual, that the best education is that which fits it to educate itself. Little or nothing has yet been achieved in this way among the imbruted proletariat of Tartary, or the savage guerrillas of Afghanistan; but in British India the good work is already begun. Not a few of the native princes have been so far wrought upon by European influence and European culture, as to admit the superiority of western civilization over their own, and show signs of adopting the former in preference. With such a lever, rightly employed, the whole Oriental world may be moved. Whenever the chiefs of a nation's political life, and the champions of its religion, begin to imbibe foreign influences, the nation itself (more especially if composed of Asiatics) is tolerably certain to follow their example sooner or later. The spectacle of a man like the present Maharajah of Gwalior (himself a high caste Bramin, and renowned both as an able ruler and as a distinguished warrior) deliberately adopting European habits and principles from a conviction that they are preferable to those of his own countrymen, will have more effect upon the popular mind of India than a whole volume of proclamations and enactments.

To educate the native princes by travel and instruction—to introduce, by their means, the necessary reforms which the people would otherwise spurn as innovations, and thus to train the East to governing itself—this is undoubtedly the best, although perhaps not the easiest, solution of the great problem. The mere expediency of such a policy has already commended it both to Russia and to Britain. The Khans of Khiva

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\* See "The Battle-Field of England and Russia," in the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW for January, 1879.

and Khokand, the Ameer of Bokhara, the Prince of Shekhri-Sebz, still sit upon the thrones of their fathers, although Russia is now supreme from the Ural to the Oxus. Seindiah of Gwalior, the Gaëkwar of Baroda, the Maharajah of Cashmere, and others too many to name, still bear rule in Hindostan, although the English flag now waves over it from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya.

With such examples before them as that above quoted, the native population of India will not remain long in their present state of ignorant and helpless abeyance. Many of them are thoroughly anxious to learn; and for those who really wish to do so, there is no lack of opportunity. National schools—the statistics of which are far too extensive to be given here—are multiplying themselves in every direction. The education of both Hindoo and Mohammedan women (a thing hitherto absolutely unheard of in the East) is progressing apace, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the more bigoted party. Many young Hindoos have emigrated to England, tried their fortune, not unsuccessfully, in various professions, and returned home to take their share in the good work of elevating their countrymen. Above all, the public press, that great developer of popular intelligence, has begun to make its power felt among the natives. “The vernacular journalistic literature of British India,” says a recent and well-informed writer on the subject, “is daily assuming wider proportions; and both in Calcutta and Bombay the native newspaper press may already be called a power, while even in Madras it is visibly gaining strength. In Calcutta, the Bengalis have what we should call a farthing daily paper, published in the vernacular, while the Parsees of Bombay have a *bonâ fide* “Punch” of their own. The number of native journals of every kind—daily, weekly and monthly—is already very great, and so rapidly increasing that were the statistics of the Hindoo press to be published today, they would have to be corrected and expanded to-morrow.” With such potent agents at work, it must be conceded that India, if not yet adequately educated, is at least on the high road to become so.

The same thing, unhappily, cannot yet be said of the foreign dominions of either France or Russia. The French are naturally conquerors rather than colonists, and, having once subjugated Algeria, trouble themselves very little about the condition of the natives. Russia, again, deems it politic to keep her vassals as ignorant and dependent as possible, forgetting that this very ignorance makes them liable to be stirred up to rebellion and massacre by tricks which any educated man would despise.\* Neither in Asiatic Russia nor in northern Africa is there any established system of education, the few schools which exist being wholly due to the self-sacrificing energy of a handful of missionaries. Popular journals are unknown, and the masses have absolutely no recognized political existence whatever.

But even this evil must sooner or later find its remedy. France and Russia will discover that it is easier to govern men than to coerce brutes, and that they must follow the example of their neighbor if they do not wish the latter to outstrip them. Prejudice and superstition will vanish with the ignorance which produced them, and the world may yet see the noble spectacle of a civilized East officered by civilized Orientals, and learning from western Christianity other and better lessons than those of theft, falsehood, and intoxication.

Since the above was written, the sudden and formidable assertion of Afghan strength which (till the victory of Dec. 23d restored the balance of fortune) threatened the safety of Gen. Roberts' whole army, has fairly committed England, for the first time in 127 years, to a policy of avowed aggression. Warren Hastings butchered the Afghans because the King of Oude gave him \$2,000,000 to do so; Lord Beaconsfield butchers them for the crime of defending their own country. The first phase of creation is destruction, but this fact cannot excuse the wanton destroyer. "It must needs be that offences come; but woe unto that man by whom they come."

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\* The formidable riot of 1871, at Kette-Kurgan, in Central Asia, was caused by a report that vaccination was intended to mark the people for military service.

ART. IX.—A SOUTHERNER'S ESTIMATE OF THE LIFE AND  
CHARACTER OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

IF the American system of government be indeed the best that human wisdom has devised; and if the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson be the true philosophy; and if, again, the apothegm, "Truth is mighty and will prevail," be a fact as well as a phrase, Stephen A. Douglas is destined to fill a lofty and prominent niche in the Temple of Republican Liberty. He was not appreciated at his full value by most of his contemporaries; even many of his associates did not know and rightly estimate his real worth. Posterity, it is believed, will more justly weigh and appreciate him. He was far more than the mere politician; he was a philosophic statesman at the age of twenty-five. All the elements of statemanship were mixed in him in ample, rare and harmonious union; and they matured earlier in him than in any other American statesman—Hamilton, his political antipode, alone excepted.

The convictions of his young manhood were those of his riper years: time, reflection, experience mellowed, but did not rot, the fruit. Biographical annals may be searched in vain for a more consistent and conservative public life than that exhibited by his record of eighteen consecutive years of conspicuous and brilliant service in the Federal Legislature. In faith, feeling and forecast, he was the same man, when, in 1861, he died a senator, that he was in 1843, when he was first elected a member of the House of Representatives. If the principles he espoused and maintained so earnestly, so steadfastly, with so much power of argument and illustration, be true, the fact of his uniform and unfaltering adherence thereto, through evil and through good report, establishes his

title to the rank we have assigned him—not a mere politician, but a mature statesman. The contrast between the two classes is admirably drawn in Hillard's celebrated eulogy of Webster: "The difference between them is like the difference between the artist and the mechanic. The statesman starts with original principles, and is propelled by a self-derived impulse. The politician has his course to choose, and puts himself in a position to make the best use of the forces which lie outside of him. The statesman's genius sometimes fails in reaching its proper sphere, from the want of the politician's faculty; and, on the other hand, the politician's intellectual poverty is never fully apprehended till he has contrived to attain an elevation which belongs only to the statesman. The statesman is often called upon to oppose popular opinion, and never is his attitude nobler than when so doing; but the sagacity of the politician is shown in seeing, a little before the rest of the world, how the stream of popular feeling is about to turn, and so throwing himself upon it, as to seem to be guiding it, while he is only propelled by it. A statesman makes the occasion, but the occasion makes the politician."

Jefferson was the veritable archetype of Douglas—the Gamaliel at whose feet he was brought up. Nor does the disciple do discredit to the master. The copy is an enlarged reflex of the original, intensified somewhat, by the altered circumstances of the times: still, all the lines and features, all the shades and colorings of the original, are plainly visible—boldly and distinctly marked—in the copy. The difference was of degree, not in kind. Jefferson was a pioneer democrat; Douglas was a progressive democrat. Both were earnest men, of deep and honest convictions, of indomitable will, of high civil courage, of wonderful sagacity in judging of men, of almost prophetic ken in predicting events from their causes, and of that rare social power, called, in the cant of the day, "personal magnetism," which asserted itself in all circles and which avouched its presence and potency in the pervading influence they wielded over those that approached them. They were *born* party leaders—Agamemnons in state-craft. Each had studied and interpreted man as the individual;

each had weighed him as a constituent of society; each had measured and apportioned his importance as a factor of government; and the conclusion each arrived at was—unfailing faith in the honesty of the masses and their capacity to govern themselves. They both felt, with all of martyr-conviction, that “the great soul of the universe is just,” and that “the voice of the people is the voice of God.” They were thorough democrats, “after that most straitest sect” which believes man is better fitted to rule himself than to govern his neighbor; and hence their unfaltering adherence to the doctrine of local self-government. Either would have gone to the stake sooner than renounce it.

No American statesman, of so meagre academical opportunities, without the adventitious aids of wealth, influential friends, family prestige or powerful connections, ever sprang so suddenly and so conspicuously into the blaze of honorable public notoriety as did Judge Douglas—unless there be a solitary exception, perhaps, in the case of Mr. Clay. Douglas, scarcely warm in the *toga virilis*—had not been a resident of Illinois eighteen months, nor a lawyer twelve months, before he was elected, by the general assembly, Attorney-General of the State. Within a year thereafter, we find him the youngest, the ablest and the most influential member of her legislature; within two years after, Register of the Land Office at Springfield, under presidential appointment; and, before attaining eligible age, the democratic nominee for Congress. All the fair fields of civic trust and honor, so tempting to young ambition, seem to have demanded his service; nor was any one allowed to monopolize, or retain him long. In December, 1840, he was elected Secretary of State; two months later he was Judge of the Supreme Court of the State; two years afterward, he was elected member of the United States House of Representatives; four years after, he was chosen United States Senator, an office which he filled by consecutive elections until his death—a brilliant series of civic promotions more varied and rapid than any other to be found in our political annals. Twice he met with defeat before the people; once, in his first contest (for Congress)

when, by sheer quibble and practical fraud, he was "counted out" by five votes in a poll of over thirty-six thousand; and again, in the last he ever made (for President), when he was defeated through the insensate dissensions and divisions in the ranks of his own party. Then he was slain in the house of his friends—another Actæon killed by his own hounds; and that, too, when he had given no offence to Diana.

The Americanism of Douglas was at once intense and catholic. He felt a more joyous pride in being an American citizen than the old Romans experienced in being called Roman citizens. He gloried in our system of government. He esteemed it the best in theory ever devised; and he believed its practical operation, if faithfully and wisely directed, the easiest of control, and the safest and surest means whereby to attain the true ends of civil government—those ends being, preservation of order, protection of property, and the securing the greatest good to the greatest number without doing injury or injustice to any. He had full faith in the efficacy of the American system to accomplish these results. It made him a propagandist—a propagandist as full of courage as Luther, and as full of zeal as Ignatius Loyola. Among the bright dreams of his young and ardent manhood was the "Vision Beatific" of an ocean-bound republic: among the darling hopes of his maturer years was to see our free institutions spread all over the continent—the stars on the flag numbered by hundreds instead of scores. The one he lived to see; of the other, he "died without the sight"—perhaps without the hope.

Mr. Douglas was, *ab imo pectore*, a patriot—sincere, zealous, devoted. His unselfish love of country was an active emotion and a sentiment. He loved his whole country—as much of pride as of tenderness mingling in the passion. He was proud of her traditions, of her history, of her achievements in arts and in arms, of her grand triumphs in the cause of man; and he saw, or thought he saw, in her future, unrivalled opportunities of greater glory—possibilities of a national grandeur more splendid than was ever wrought or seen by man. It was simply impossible, therefore, that he

could be, from his stand-point, sectional, in feeling or through policy. His predilections and his principles alike forbade it. He was the grand type of a national man—an American citizen and statesman—whose patriotism was broad enough in its sweep, and capacious enough in its affections, to include all sections and all men beneath the shadow and shield of the flag. The very instincts of his nature shuddered at the thought of the “geographical party.” He predicted, as a consequence of its success, the disruption of the Union, the overthrow of free institutions, and, most probably, the eventual loss of citizen-liberty. Whether the prophecy will yet ripen into history is among the dark uncertainties which are

“—wrapped in the future’s misty veil  
That mercy weaves.”

Mr. Douglas was among the first of that noble band made illustrious by such names as Clay, Webster, Cass, Dickinson, Choate, Stephens, and their patriot-compeers, who strove to strangle that party in its cradle. None dealt it heavier blows, nor waged against it more persistent and inveterate warfare than did Douglas. He was aggressive in the fight from the first; nor was it till he “carried the war into Africa” that he discovered *Hannibal was at home*—under luckier stars, too, than beamed upon the old Carthaginian at Zama. When thrown on the defensive, he disputed every inch of ground with a constancy and courage which inspired his friends with fresh zeal, and wrung reluctant admiration from his bitterest foe. One of the latter is reported to have said: “What whalebone-stuff Douglas is made of! The government will never fall into our hands till we slaughter him!”

The completest triumph of his life was won at Chicago, in 1850. The compromise measures, so-called, of that year, had passed Congress; each of the five had received his support—staunch, unqualified, hearty; three of them, indeed, he had originally drafted. The Fugitive-Slave Law, framed by Senator Mason, of Virginia, was particularly odious to many—at the start, perhaps, a large majority—of his constituents. His

biographer says: "When Mr. Douglas arrived in Chicago, he found the city in a state of rebellion against the recent acts of Congress. The city-council, in their official capacity, had passed resolutions denouncing them as a violation of the Constitution and of the higher law of God, and those senators and representatives who had voted for them, as Benedict Arnolds and Judas Iscariots. In order to make their resistance effectual, the city-council passed resolutions releasing the citizens, officers and police of the city from all obligation to assist or participate in the execution of these laws, and declared that they (the laws) ought not to be respected by any intelligent community. On the next night a mass-meeting of the citizens was held for the purpose of approving and sanctioning the action of the common-council, and organizing violent and successful resistance to the execution of the laws. A committee reported to this meeting a series of resolutions more revolutionary in their character, and going to a greater extent in resisting the authorities of the Federal Government, than those of the common-council. Numerous speeches in support of the resolutions were received with boisterous and furious applause—pledging their authors to resist even unto the dungeon and the grave. At length, Mr. Douglas, being the only member of the Illinois delegation then in the city, appeared upon the stand, and said that, in consequence of the action of the common-council, and the frenzied excitement which seemed to rage all around him, he desired to be heard before the assembled people of the city in vindication of each and all of the compromise measures, and especially of the Fugitive-Slave Law. He said he would not address them that night, because the call for a meeting was not sufficiently broad to authorize a speech in *defence* of the measures, but he would avail himself of that opportunity to give notice that on the next night he would address the people of Chicago on those subjects. He invited men of all parties and shades of opinion to attend and participate in the proceedings, assuring them he would answer every objection made, and every question which should be propounded touching those measures, including the Fugitive-Slave Law. \* \* \* In the meantime, the ex-

citement continued to increase, and the next night, October 23d, a tremendous concourse of people assembled, before whom Mr. Douglas delivered a speech, some impression of the power and effect of which may be formed from the fact that the meeting resolved unanimously to carry into effect the provisions of the laws of Congress (the Fugitive-Slave Law included), adopted resolutions repudiating the action of the common-council, and then adjourned with nine cheers—three for Douglas, three for the Constitution, and three for our glorious Union. On the next night, the common-council of the city assembled and repealed their nullifying resolutions by a vote of twelve to one."

When Faneuil Hall was barred against Daniel Webster, and he went out "in the spacious temple of the firmament" to vindicate the political morality and prudence of the 7th of March speech, and rebuke the "prejudices" of Massachusetts, his attitude was indeed noble—a model for the pencil of a Raphael, or the chisel of a Phidias. Yet, he did not conquer those prejudices. When Edmund Burke stood before the electors of Bristol and said: "I did not obey your instructions. No! I conformed to the instructions of truth and nature, and maintained your interest against your opinions with a constancy that became me"—he rose to the full stature of a rare and glorious manhood. Yet, the tide of popular feeling swept him from the platform. When, in 1813, a Virginian mob assembled to drag John Randolph from the hustings, he awed the ruffian band into sullen silence with the brave words: "I understand that I am to be insulted today if I attempt to address the people—that a mob is prepared to lay their rude hands upon me and drag me from these hustings for daring to exercise the rights of a freeman. My Bible teaches me that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, but that the fear of man is the consummation of folly." Yet he failed of his election. Douglas weathered the fury of a popular tempest more terrible than any of these. More than that, he calmed the storm—not by pouring oil upon the waters,—but by stilling the winds that had lashed them into rage. He appeased frenzy, dissipated prejudice, convinced the reason, and won the

hardest of all triumphs possible for man to achieve—a triumph over the pride of opinion—that opinion not only freely expressed, but solemnly recorded.

It is idle to imagine that this result came of chance or whim. The masses change not so totally and so suddenly by mere impulse. If they seek not for a sign, they at least require a reason. Lift up the brazen serpent and they will look and live. It may be said of Douglas, as Wilberforce so finely said of Pitt when he breasted the torrent of Jacobin principles: "He stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed!"

It has been urged against the consistency of Mr. Douglas' political course that he changed ground respecting the most absorbing, if not the most important, question with which his congressional life is identified—slavery in the territories. The point is more specious than true. So long as the Missouri Compromise, proposed by Mr. Thomas, of Illinois, supported by the opponents of slavery restriction, and accepted by the South, was observed in good faith—so long as it was treated as a "sacred compact"—Mr. Douglas was willing to abide by it. But it was upon the principle of a division of the public domain between the sections, that he sanctioned and adhered to it. When it was repudiated by the attempt to apply the Wilmot Proviso to all the territory which might be acquired from Mexico, he considered the bargain broken on one side, and, therefore, not binding on the other side. The question of congressional power over slavery in the territories then became an original question. He recurred to first principles, brushed away the rubbish from the old landmarks, and fell back on what he had always believed to be the true constitutional doctrine of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the territories. If there was any inconsistency in this, he shared it with many of the conservative and able men of all sections—whigs and democrats alike—with men whose services, in cabinet and camp, shed unfading lustre upon the American name.

Non-intervention was of the essence of the compromise of 1850—which, for a time, gave peace to the sections. It was

the soul of that great adjustment. It was incorporated in the platforms of both political parties in the presidential contest of 1852; it was reaffirmed in the Kansas-Nebraska legislation of 1854; it received popular indorsement in the election of Mr. Buchanan in 1856. And is it too much to believe, that if the democratic house had not divided against itself, if the large body of the southern democracy, encouraged by the Federal Administration, had been content simply with the Cincinnati platform of 1856, whereon Mr. Buchanan entered the presidency; if the flush of victory had not inspired a feeling of aggression, perhaps of arrogance, which demanded congressional *protection* of slavery in the territories, a large majority of the people would have stood by the doctrine of strict non-intervention in 1860—and so given a new lease of life to the old Union, and postponed the evil day of secession, at least for another generation? Mr. Douglas knew better than most men that “such is the condition of humanity, that the noblest politics are but a compromise; an approximation; a type; a shadow of good things—the buying of great blessings at great prices.” Hence, his statesmanship, more concrete than abstract, strove to postpone what it could not prevent. No man better knew than he did, that the direct conflict between free labor and slave labor would some day come; that—in the language of Mr. Seward—“the conflict is irrepressible—all the States will become free or slave.” Two separate and antagonistic systems of labor, each working out distinct and irreconcilable forms of society, could not grow up and flourish together under a common government—the one or the other must disappear. And while, like Mr. Jefferson, he was opposed to African slavery, he hoped to see the institution peacefully and gradually fade away—not violently, or of a sudden, extinguished. He had read the prophecy of Mr. Jefferson and shuddered at the possible horrors that might attend its fulfilment: “Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction

between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of our case."

Mr. Douglas deemed Mr. Seward's view of the problem, microscopic; Jefferson's, telescopic:—the one, looking through a lens capable only of magnifying the object near the eye—proximate results; the other, standing upon a higher elevation and sweeping in a wider horizon with his larger glass, discerned things afar off—ultimate results. He believed that the only wise and safe way of getting rid of the institution was to leave the business exclusively in the hands of those most nearly affected by it, in all its relations—moral, social, economic—those who lived beneath its dark penumbra; and if the unfriendly hand of foreign interference were stayed, that they, themselves, would eventually destroy it—that it would melt away like frost-work under their own sun, and the civilized world thus be spared the spectacle of seeing it quenched in the blood of fratricidal war. It is unquestionably true, that, until maddened by what the southern people deemed the obtrusive intermeddling of a malignant philanthropy, the general drift of public sentiment was in opposition not only to the spread of African slavery, but to its existence anywhere. Many of the leading southern statesmen were its pronounced opponents. Even as late as 1832, Judge Gaston—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—addressing the literary societies of her university in presence of the educated mind of North Carolina, said: "On you, too, will devolve the duty, which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation, and (is it too much to hope for in North Carolina?) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the southern part of our confederacy. Full well do you know to what I refer; for on this subject there is

with all of us a morbid sensitiveness which gives warning even of an approach to it. Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprise; it is fatal to economy and providence; it discourages skill, impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain-head. How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate inquiry, which this is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to discuss. I felt, however, that I could not discharge my duty without referring to this subject, as one which ought to engage the prudence, moderation and firmness of those who sooner or later must act decisively upon it." That Commencement address met with great popular favor; it went through five editions and received special and unqualified commendations from such southern-born men—slave-owners—as John Marshall, Nathaniel Macon, John Randall, Henry Clay, James L. Petigru, and others scarcely less influential and distinguished in public and professional life.

It is needless to advance, because impossible to determine, the question, whether African slavery would have been voluntarily abolished by the States in which it existed—each acting for itself. It was certainly worth the trial. One thing, however, is undeniably true: it was abolished in the worst possible way for all the sections and both races. Apart from the blood spilt, the bad passions kindled, the outrages perpetrated against citizen-liberty by both governments, the almost universal demoralization wrought by the strife—men are pretty well agreed now that the best of good bargains was hardly made when so many billions of not unproductive capital were exchanged for so many billions of public debt. Did four millions of slaves gain as much by the war as thirty millions of freemen lost by it? Time only can answer the question. The balance sheet is not yet made up; nor will it be for generations to come.

Why any friend to the compromise of 1850 should have opposed the congressional territorial legislation of 1854, is a

puzzle to plain men. The fundamental, the animating principle involved in and controlling each case, was one and the same—absolute non-intervention. The identity of the cases is whole and perfect. The one was not the logical consequence merely of the other, as some have it; but the one *was* the other, and the other, the one—a common *corpus*, with the same root, trunk, stem—without a single new or additional shoot. It would baffle the dialectics of the schoolmen and tax to discomfiture the genius of the legal fraternity to vindicate the consistency of those that held up the hands of Mr. Douglas in 1850—then turned and hung him in effigy in 1854. How it was that such a total change came over the spirit of their dreams is more a matter of curious speculation than of profitable inquiry. Certain it is, he himself was the same man—unchanged in all respects, save in normal and healthy growth.

Four years later, the great body of the southern democracy, backed by the Federal Administration, advanced their line. They not only denied the right of the people of a territory, in their territorial legislature, to prohibit slavery, but a portion—the controlling portion—went farther and demanded congressional intervention to *protect* it until the people met in convention to frame a State Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union. That demand—for any practical purpose utterly futile to affect slavery one way or the other—disrupted the national organization. Mr. Douglas could not accede to it. He stood fast by the doctrine of strict congressional non-intervention, as he had proclaimed and maintained it since 1850. He was now as bitterly assailed by the ultra southern wing of his party, as he had before been by the northern extremists. The arts of flattery and of intimidation were alike impotent to seduce him from his propriety or drive him from his principles:

“ In sight of mortal and immortal powers,  
As in a boundless theatre, he ran  
The great career of justice—  
And through the mists of passion and of sense,  
And through the tossing tide of chance and pain  
He held his course unfaltering.”

The Douglas-Lincoln canvass for senatorial honors in 1858 is without parallel in our history—whether considered in point of the intense and general interest and anxiety it excited; the ability, energy and acrimony with which it was conducted; or the immense importance of the stake at issue. The odds against Douglas were indeed fearful. The estrangement of the southern ultras, engendered of his course in the Lecompton business and the insensate cry against “squatter sovereignty”; the apathy—not to say hostility—of the Federal Administration; the doubting Thomases among his professed friends, were dead weight—so much extra lead—tied to his heels. To win success in such a struggle, required a combination of parts, qualities, faculties, rarely vouchsafed to mortal man. The occasion exacted, and he supplied, them in ample measure. It was the severest trial in his political career—a very *experimentum crucis* applied to his metal. He knew it and met it manfully, bringing to his aid all his resources of body and mind. In the contest, he exhibited a power of physical endurance that seems incredible. The amount of mental labor he performed bordered on a psychological marvel; the courage of every type he displayed was more than Spartan; while the “faith he so sternly kept with his country and with his fame” is among the imperishable glories of the republic.

The United States Senate, during Douglas’ term of service there, first and last, was made illustrious by a series of the greatest names on the roll of American statesmen and orators. It was the Golden Age of our senatorial glory. Without the emotional nature of Clay, the eloquent feeling of Webster, the metaphysical power of Calhoun, the prodigious learning of Benton, the ripe and bountiful culture of Berrien, the decorous and stately logic of Cass, the elaborate rhetoric of Sumner, the scholarly accomplishments of Everett, the ready subtle acumen of Seward, the intense passion and robust, fiery magnetism of Toombs—Douglas was a more formidable debater than any of them. He was in the American Senate what Charles James Fox was in the British House of Commons—not as accomplished or attractive in debate, possibly, but equally as powerful and effective—certainly more successful

He was not afraid of the drudgery of legislation; he never shunned nor slighted the irksome work of the committee-room; for impatient of, and averse to, that sort of employment as he confessedly was, he met his appointments with rare punctuality. His labors there, though more obscure, were more useful; and the influence he exerted, in shaping and securing legislation, was greater than in his public displays in the senate-chamber. Always intent on carrying his point, and perfectly content with doing so, he adopted the surest means of reaching it; little caring whether he himself should appear in the foreground or the background of the picture—before the lights or behind the curtain.

Still, he was unusually susceptible to downright flattery. Praise was extremely grateful to him; he coveted fame; he loved power; he was willing to sacrifice anything, save truth, for triumph. Possibly, he was sometimes over-eager in its pursuit. But it was the just consciousness of his own powers and parts that made him “not unmindful of the opportunities of glory,” which others had laid hold of and turned to account—just as the trophies of Miltiades disturbed the dreams of Themistocles. Yet it was a “noble and austere ambition” that stirred the divinity within—the ambition of Camillus, not of Cæsar. He aspired to the presidency, and made no secret of it. The office was not above his capacity or deserts. In it, he would have asserted himself the full equal in administrative talent and tact of any incumbent since the days of Jefferson. That he would have attained it but for the inopportune and unhappy disruption of the democracy at Charleston in 1860, we firmly believe.

Mr. Douglas cared as little for money as Sheil said Lord Norbury cared for life. He despised affluence, for affluence’s sake—“not setting the value of a pin’s fee on it.” Yet, while almost prodigal in spending money, he was as just as he was generous—rare alliance of diverse dispositions and habits. He gave away more to others than he spent on himself. His charities—often indiscreetly, always indiscriminately, never ostentatiously bestowed—were circumscribed only by his means; nor would he let his left-hand know what his right-hand

did. S. S. Prentiss was not more easily, and scarcely more repeatedly, made the dupe of the imposter or professional sponge than was Mr. Douglas. It is said that the latter honored, to the last, even the drafts of Beau Hickman. It was not in his heart to say, even to him, as the late Governor Crawford of Georgia—his patience, and purse too, nearly exhausted—once said to a constant tease for “the loan of a little cash”: “Here, take it, but quit living on your friends eternally; forage on the enemy for a while.”

No man of his time had a stronger hold on the hearts of the young democracy of the country than Douglas. They deemed it a privilege to do homage before the altar where their great high-priest officiated. The charms of his social nature, so genial, so free, so attractive, so irresistible—won their attachment as strongly as his intellectual supremacy commanded their admiration, and his iron will challenged their respect. And, we incline to think, their impatient haste and imprudent zeal in pressing his nomination for the presidency in 1852, largely contributed to his defeat before the convention of 1856, when Mr. Buchanan was nominated. That he was entitled to it before Mr. Buchanan, or any one else—if able advocacy and efficient service in upholding the prime principles and live issues laid down in the platform adopted, entitled one to party recognition or reward—seemed to be clear enough. It was a mistake to bring him forward at all in 1852. He was young enough to wait; and by waiting, he might not have called down upon him the concentrated opposition of all the politicians who had been so long on the line. At least, they would not have been so unmistakably “put on notice”—as the lawyers say. They did combine against him. His unclouded dawn and splendid promise excited their envy, and drew upon him their united fire. Forewarned of his strength at Baltimore, they had four years wherein to marshal and muster their forces against him at Cincinnati. Nor was the time unimproved. *Carpe diem* was their common motto and watchword. They marshalled all their cohorts; and the unbroken phalanx defeated his nomination, when, we are persuaded, he was the

second choice (where he was not the first) of all the rank and file, except those under the absolute control of the *old* field-officers. And such a set of old field-officers! Most of them never had been fit for service at all; and many of the rest ought to have been put on the retired list, years before—without pension. But “Young America,”—too eager and too impetuous—forgot, for the time, that senility begets a fellow-feeling wondrous kind; that old men, of all callings and pursuits, commonly work together; that they little relish the notion of being pushed off the stage by the rising generation before their time; that a certain *esprit de corps*, which at once flatters their pride and feeds their vanity, prompts them to stand by an old comrade rather than promote the aspirations of a *novus homo*; and that when their own personal ambition is left without hope, it is some satisfaction to say: “Well, yes, I and the president served together for a series of years in Congress; I was among the first to discover his parts and advance his interest; he was my right-hand man in committee (the committee whereof I was chairman); our terms of personal intimacy were such that, *I know*, next to himself (for he was always ambitious, while I never was), he would sooner, today, see me president than any man in America.” Such men could feel little sympathy for Pitt, when he fleshed his maiden sword in Walpole’s sneer at “the atrocious crime of being a young man.”

Popular leaders, generally, are good talkers. Douglas had wonderful colloquial talents. Had he possessed the affluence of scholarly acquisition and accomplishment which so much enhanced the charm of Sir James Mackintosh’s conversational powers, it is hardly extravagant to say that he would have rivalled him as an entertaining and instructive talker. His excessive intellectuality kept his brain always on fire. All his resources of information, illustration, anecdote, wit, repartee were as readily called up in social colloquy, as were his powers of logic and eloquence when, inspired by large numbers, an absorbing topic and befitting occasion, he entranced listening senators. The American excelled the Scotchman in one quality—pretty essential to him who would,

*omnium consensu*, be prince of the coterie. Douglas' ear was quite as attentive as his tongue was ready; Sir James was not a patient listener; his tongue incessantly wagged in any company. Like Burke's, his mind was so full that it must find vent in talk.

What could be apter or more crushing than Douglas' unpremeditated reply to the Swedish ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, when the latter, in the course of conversation, so stoutly condemned the conduct of Captain Ingraham in the Koszta affair, and so absolutely denied the right of any government to naturalize the subject of another: "*Your* royal master, King Oscar, himself the son of a king, cannot deny that right without beforehand abdicating his throne; for he cannot have forgotten the fact, that his own father, Bernadotte, was a marshal of France, when, over the emphatic protest of Napoleon, he was naturalized by the Swedish government. He became king; Oscar, your master, is his son!" This *argumentum ad hominem* vanquished the ambassador—and, like the Pennsylvania Quaker, when the Texas "bully" gave him the lie, he prudently "waived the topic." And when the Russian nobleman rallied to the support of the nonplussed Swede, how readily did Douglas silence him by referring to the monument at Odessa, erected to the memory of the French Duke de Richelieu: "*Your* master, the czar, must tear down that beautiful monument before he dare deny the right of naturalization. Richelieu was a French exile whom Emperor Paul naturalized and made a Russian general; Alexander made him Governor of Odessa, and his subjects testified their gratitude to all by building that splendid monument." The nobleman "confessed judgment" and "paid costs" by ordering wine for the party. Douglas' *sub-toast* to Governor Cobb, at Senator Toombs' celebrated dinner party, given to the Georgia delegation in Washington, while on their way to the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, has become almost historic. Quite a number of magnates were present, among them some aspirants for the presidential nomination, Messrs. Cass, Douglas, Buchanan, Cobb, and others. When wit and wine had had their turn and the company were about to disperse,

Mr. James Gardner, chairman of the Georgia delegation—his glass full of sherry and his heart full of kindness—offered as a toast: "Gentlemen, may you all live to be President of the United States!" Douglas incontinently exclaimed: "Well, Cobb, here's a long life to you!"

We know not the authority for the statement we have seen made, that Mr. Douglas approved of the coercion policy of Mr. Lincoln respecting the seceded States. We believe it would be as hard to find as the grave of Moses. So firm and stalwart an advocate and defender of State sovereignty as he had ever been, could not have so totally changed his most cherished principles and blurred the proud and brilliant record of a lifetime. No man personally knew him more intimately, or sympathized more thoroughly with his political convictions and sentiments on that subject, than did Alexander H. Stephens. In his work on *The War Between the States*, Mr. Stephens says: "Either you are, or I am, greatly mistaken if you suppose Mr. Douglas ever took back or modified, in the slightest degree, a single phrase or word in the speech from which I have quoted (the speech of March 15th, 1861, in the United States Senate, advocating the withdrawal of the United States troops from Forts Sumter, Pickens, etc.). It is true, as I understand, that under the influence or impression, produced by the telegram to which you refer, purporting to give the substance of what Mr. Walker said on the occasion alluded to,\* Mr. Douglas did advise Mr. Lincoln to convene Congress, and did approve of all proper steps being taken, *for the defence of the Capitol* against what he considered a threatened attack upon the Government of the United States, and a war of invasion. He did not, however, so far as I have ever seen, utter a word in modification of what he said as to the powers or duties of the president under the circumstances. He certainly did not give these measures I have been commenting upon, or the general policy of Mr. Lincoln, either before or

\* It was telegraphed from Montgomery that Mr. Walker, the first Secretary of War of the Confederate States, had made a speech after the fall of Fort Sumter, in which he said, "the Confederate flag would float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May" 1861, and "eventually over Faneuil Hall itself."

after the events at Fort Sumter, his cordial endorsement or support. \* \* \* He never could have held that Mr. Lincoln was obeying either the laws or the Constitution in the usurpations of power to which I have referred. \* \* \* In October, 1860, he did most emphatically endorse the Georgia platform of 1850, before at least twenty thousand freemen at Atlanta. This platform distinctly claimed the right, in the contingency of a breach of faith of the other confederates, to sever, in the last resort, every tie that bound her to the Union. This right he fully recognized. \* \* \* Mr. Douglas was no changeling in principles or opinions. Of all the men I ever knew, he was about the last who might have been expected to take back anything he had said. I knew him well for sixteen years. We went into Congress together, in December, 1843, and a more unyielding and inflexible man in his positions and matured opinions, I never met with."

In the course of his 15th of March speech, above alluded to—seven States having already seceded—Mr. Douglas, addressing the republican senators especially, used this language: "In my opinion we must choose, and that promptly, between one of three lines of policy: First, the restoration and preservation of the Union by such amendments of the Constitution as will ensure the domestic tranquillity, safety and equality of all the States, and thus restore peace, unity and fraternity to the whole country. Second, a peaceful dissolution of the Union by recognizing the independence of such States as refuse to remain in the Union, without such constitutional amendments, and the establishment of a liberal system of commercial and social intercourse with them by treaties of commerce and amity. Third, war, with a view to the subjugation and military occupation of those States which have seceded, or may secede, from the Union. I repeat, that, in my opinion, you must adopt and pursue one of these three lines of policy. The sooner you choose between them and proclaim your choice to the country, the better for you, the better for us, the better for every friend of liberty and constitutional government throughout the world. In my opinion, the first proposition is the best and the last the worst."

We cannot indorse the opinion of Mr. Hallam, flaunted forth with so much of flourish in his *History of the Middle Ages*: "Fame is more partial to successful aggression than to patriotic resistance." The statement is a libel upon human nature—bad as it is, in some of its exemplifications. Success is the criterion of ephemeral fame only. Truth, in the long run, is the sole standard whereby to measure real merit. Often assailed, sometimes baffled, always courageous, it has hitherto, in all its conflicts with error, finally emerged crowned with garlands of laurel or of oak. Never yet did it yield to victor or take on the chains. And is it taxing an honest credulity too severely to believe that truth is as mighty now as ever before—that it is invincible—and in the future, as in the past, it will go forth, clad in mailed armor, prepared to turn the edge of every sword and blunt the point of every bayonet that may ring upon its harness?

"Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again—  
The eternal years of God are hers."

And this assured hope it is, which fixes our faith in the bringing back of the Federal Government to its former self; to its primal principles; to the Constitution of the Fathers; to a Federal Union of consent, not a nation of constraint; to "a government of laws and not of men"—as Harrington so tersely and so nobly expressed it. When that auspicious day shall dawn, Stephen A. Douglas will be accorded his proper pedestal among the apotheosized in the Pantheon of republican liberty.

He was comparatively young when the curtain fell and closed his career. His sun went down suddenly—alike in glory and in gloom—while it was yet day. For the growing man he was, he had not reached his meridian, the grand climacteric of his mental strength. That the distractions of his country hastened his end, we do not doubt. He could not be a pall-bearer to the corse of his country and of his hopes. He lived to see the gathering clouds, the first flashes of their lightning, and to hear the angry mutterings of their thunder; but it was graciously spared his eyes to behold the

result. Was he not, therefore, as fortunate in the time of his death as in the opportunities of his life? He died younger than many others who have left footprints on the sands of time—to be effaced only when the last memory of America shall vanish.

## ART. X.—REVIEWS AND CRITICISMS.

## PHILOSOPHY.

*On Mr. Spencer's Formula of Evolution, as an Exhaustive Statement of the Changes of the Universe.* By MALCOLM GUTHRIE. 12<sup>o</sup> pp. 267. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

ONE of the first elements of profitable discussion is to agree on the premises of the subject discussed or to be discussed. Were premises agreed upon or adjusted, there would be less grounds of difference on subjects of philosophy—none at all, indeed, between men of equal information and logical ability.

Much of the controversy in respect of the bearings of systems of philosophy of the present day—nearly all of past days and times—has been devoid of utility for want of a proper understanding of first principles. Men have engaged in polemics very much as they have entered into physical combat, apparently for the love of it, regardless of the truth to be established, or the error to be overthrown or refuted. It is not for us to say that such controversy, or such physical warfare, is entirely without utility in the economy of nature. In the broader view there can be no act without a certain kind of recompense attached to it, or accompanying it, just as these walking or rowing matches, while they tend to dehumanize the mental character, augment the development of the victim's calves. But, if any one will show us any advantage to be derived from a controversy between an evolutionist and a Presbyterian—between a typical Herbert Spencer and a typical John Calvin, other than that which is due to an exercise in polemics, we will undertake to show the utility of Great Britain's raid on the Afghans, or that of the war of the United States on the frontier Indians.

Another requisite of profitable discussion is a mutual understanding of the definitions of terms. To discuss a subject, or to attempt to controvert an opponent, in ignorance of the precise meaning of the terms which he uses, is like attempting a surgical operation without a knowledge of the instruments one is to use, or prescribing medicines when ignorant of their actions on the normal organism. All these things are common enough, unfortunately, and one finds it hard to say which is the most stupid proceeding.

The latter may be more disastrous to human life than the former—for, surely, polemics never *hurt* anybody; but both proceedings should be relegated to the domain of doubt and uncertainty, or classed with the practices of the ignorant and foolish.

It should not be overlooked, however, that there are many terms in science and philosophy that have various meanings—abstract terms, such as life, mind, soul, as well as the method that treats of them—science and philosophy. It is a curious anomaly that thinkers are not agreed as to the nature of life, the commonest thing that one meets with. Nor are they any more agreed as to the nature of mind. And in respect of the nature of soul they are still more widely at variance, many doubting its existence altogether. While the use of the term is sufficiently common in philosophy, it has not yet secured recognition in science, its use being superfluous in interpreting the phenomena of the universe; at least, according to the scientific method, or the formula of evolution. The definitions of philosophy, even, are at variance. According to Mr. Spencer, "philosophy is completely-unified knowledge," by which we suppose him to mean, the facts of existence reduced to order, and rationally interpreted. Pythagoras, who first introduced the term, gave it a different signification, one implying method of thinking—speculation. Hence, in his day there were as many kinds of philosophy as there were systems or schools of thought. Dr. Whewell's view of the subject is not inconsistent with that of the father of the term, viz.: "Right reason and facts to reason upon." In this sense knowledge and philosophy are identical.

The author of the critique on Mr. Spencer's "Formula of Evolution" finds fault with the latter's definition of philosophy for the reason that it comprehends only "the summary of our knowledge," while the critic implies that philosophy ought rather to be "a representation of the changes of the universe." The point seems to us a hair-split one, for it is correct observation of the changes of the universe that constitutes our knowledge of it. So also in respect of the definition and interpretation of the hypothesis of evolution. Most critics of Mr. Spencer's formula, from the theological point of view, fail rightly to apprehend its precise meaning. Mr. Spencer has himself defined its scope, limiting its application to the knowable, and implying that outside that limit there is a vast beyond into which finite faculties cannot penetrate. The fierce opponents of the hypothesis, however, by a strange, but no uncommon, mental perversity, give insufficient attention to the limitations of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, and proceed to point out its insufficiency to explain the "Unknowable!" No one who reflects upon the course of things needs to be reminded that the abstract nature of anything is inscrutable. The First Cause—if such a conception be admissible, which we do not believe—is no more past finding out than is the nature of the tiniest speck of dust that floats in the air and is made visible

by the solar beam. The recognition of this truth by Mr. Spencer forms the bulwark of his hypothesis, against which his opponents cannot prevail, from the very nature and limitations of their faculties; unless, indeed, some new and unknown quality of vision is awakened within them, which shall enable them to get behind the veil of the finite and probe the mystery of the Infinite.

We by no means underrate the merits of Mr. Guthrie's critique. The author presents the deficiencies and limitations of Mr. Spencer's formula of evolution with judicial fairness, and exhibits excellent analytical powers; but, at the same time, not without making certain *défauts*, a few of which may be briefly noted.

The formula of evolution given by Mr. Spencer is as follows: "Evolution is an integration of matter, and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." It is seen therefore that matter and motion are the factors on which the hypothesis is based. "Matter *and* motion," be it observed, not matter *in* motion, as Mr. Guthrie puts it. Matter in motion cannot be two factors.

Again: matter in motion implies matter at rest; according to science there is no such condition as the latter. But Mr. Guthrie is not satisfied with these two factors, and thinks it would enlarge the scope of the hypothesis if consciousness were added, making a third factor; and further on he discovers that another factor must be added, in order to escape a difficulty which, however, he himself makes, viz.: the behavior of atoms towards one another. This other factor is gravitation. Here, then, is the beginning of things, according to Mr. Guthrie: matter, motion, consciousness, gravitation. Does not Mr. Guthrie perceive that consciousness predicates every relation between the human mind and outward nature? Yet the mind can think of nature apart from itself. And we are compelled to believe that the forces of nature were at work, æons before organism existed, in the same way as we perceive them now. As for gravitation being a factor, it simply expresses the relation between matter and motion. It cannot, therefore, be a factor. The fact of atoms being in a different position one towards the other would vary their force, and this variation brings about a condition which we call gravitation. To our mind, Mr. Spencer's chapter on the "Instability of the Homogeneous" clears up the difficulty; but although Mr. Guthrie gives copious citations from it, he does not consider it satisfactory. He says: "The only cases where heterogeneity ensues upon the homogeneous is where internal influences produce it"—implying that there is no external influence acting on the imaginary first assemblage of atoms. But can Mr. Guthrie imagine a mass of moving atoms, without also imagining a something rarer than themselves, which they move about in? This something is external influence.

The first part of this book contains a great many minor criticisms, and besides them a few axiom-like expressions, such as "the tendency of motion is to go on moving at the same rate." Similarly one might say the weight of a ton of coal is very heavy.

In Part II, Mr. Guthrie spends many chapters and much argument on Mr. Spencer's non-usage of the term *force* in the formula, and his free usage of the term in the elaboration of the formula. We think Mr. Guthrie would have no further trouble if he were to regard force as a generic term, and also as a generalization. Matter is force in its statical aspect; motion is force in its dynamical aspect; it would be out of place, therefore, to use the word in the formula. The "force" employed in the first few chapters on "The Knowable" represents the power anterior to matter and motion, for however far the mind goes in its search for ultimates, it is bound to think of something beyond, call it cause, God, or force, as one pleases. The context clearly shows that Mr. Spencer uses the word force to express what is beyond.

Mr. Guthrie puts some strange questions, such as "Does the scope of philosophy include times anterior to and subsequent to the existence of organized conscious beings? If so, did force exist before, and will it exist after such a period?" Again: "What are forces?" (p. 85) "Is heat a force?" (p. 92.) These questions are repeated in different forms, for what purpose it is difficult to see. They surely cannot be asked for information.

The philosophy under discussion does not pretend to explain all the changes from the first atoms to the greatest genius. It cannot show the transformation from the homogeneous to the organic, from the organic to consciousness. Because of this limitation the critic regards it as a failure. Mr. Spencer, of course, acknowledges these things to be mysteries; whereupon Mr. Guthrie declares that "really this is most puzzling!" Of course, they are mysteries, and must be, for reasons already stated. The formula of evolution cannot account for the nature of things. Nor is it possible for science to do so. The theories of gravitation, light, heat, as modes of motion, did not explain all the phenomena which were due to these forces as soon as they were announced. The function of philosophy is to interpret the universe, and as the instruments of investigation become more perfect, the interpretation will naturally be more comprehensive. But Mr. Guthrie seems to think that the function of philosophy is omniscience. "But if we do not know all the effects of force in the cosmos, then philosophy is impossible," he observes.

Mr. Guthrie requests special attention to his criticism on "The Composition of Mind." He affirms that "Mr. Spencer shows the parallelisms which exist between the evolution of mind and the evolution of matter. But it is a parallelism only and cannot be included in the terms of the formula of evolution." He makes the same criticism in another form, when he asks: "What is the concomitant force with integration of society, thought, language,

science, industry and art?" If the critic will reperuse the chapter on "The Integration of Correspondences" (Vol. IV), and the few following chapters, he will find an explanation of what he deems an insurmountable difficulty. At the opening of the chapter just alluded to, Mr. Spencer says: "We have to note how, out of coördination there grows up integration. The coördinated elements of any stimulus, or of any act, ever tend towards union; and eventually become distinguishable from one another only by analysis. Further, the connection between stimulus and act also becomes constantly closer; so that at last they seem two sides of the same change." We observe, that thought is an attribute of the human being, and evolution of thought means the evolution of the human being in the direction of thought. This is true of all the products of mind, such as language, music, art, etc., etc. Thus it happens, as Mr. Spencer says, "that out of savages unable to count up to the number of their fingers, and speaking a language containing only nouns and verbs, arise at length our Newtons and our Shakspeares." This is an example of evolution to which its formula has been applied.

As Mr. Guthrie well says, the problem of philosophy remains unsolved, that is, we do not know what life or mind is; but it would be illogical to conclude from that, that Mr. Spencer's work is a failure. An hypothesis which comprehends the vastness of nature, which seeks to reconcile all the facts of existence and relate them, as does evolution, must command the respectful attention of every investigator of truth.

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*Studies in Theism.* By BORDEN P. BOWNE. 12° pp. 444.  
New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock &  
Walden. 1879.

PROFESSOR BOWNE'S *Studies in Theism* is a rather discursive contribution to the subject of teleology, or final causes. While avowedly aiming to show the futility of the attempt to construct the universe without the theistic postulate, the real object of the author's present effort is to controvert what he is pleased to call "the vulgar conception of Darwinism and Evolution, which gets the living from that which is nothing but the dead, and man from that which is nothing but the brute" (p. 164). The author deals with the highest problems of philosophy—teleological problems—with such confidence in the sufficiency of rational principles to support his position that he deigns not to seek the aids of Revelation and the intuitional faculty. He writes like one who has thought out the problem of final causes for himself—certainly to his own satisfaction—leaving nothing to be done by those who are to succeed him. Like "Pepin" in *Theophrastus Such*, his paragraphs are imbued with the air of a mind "too

penetrating to accept any other man's ideas, and too equally competent in all directions to seclude his power in any other form of creation, but rather fitted to hang over them all as a lamp of guidance to the stumblers below."

The author's studies are too abstract to be of interest to the average reader, for whom he professes to write, and too popular to be of service to the student of philosophy. His thought is bright and his conceptions, for the most part, are clear; and yet his definitions of abstract terms are often lacking in precision, and his conclusions frequently vitiated by being overdrawn. Take, for example, the author's characterization of the position of those who accept the hypothesis of evolution: "They explain nothing," he says, "they assume everything, and merely describe to us the successive phases of the first assumption. The great cycle rolls on forever, manifesting all the varied phenomena of the living and the lifeless, of life and death. \* \* \* We can do nothing but watch its successive phases and record them. This is the only position which the anti-teleologist can take which shall be in harmony both with the phenomena and with the necessary principles of mechanical science" (p. 170). While we have no purpose of controverting the author, we must pause to express our surprise that any one with finite faculties should assume to be able to do more than this.

The animus of the author is frequently disclosed in passages like the following: "The universe is set to developing minds, and to stocking them with proper notions about itself; and although it does this under the law of necessity, and under every possible obligation to tell the truth, it proceeds to give a garbled account of itself, and makes no account of the truth whatever. We must reckon this among the many mysteries which the evolutionists have bequeathed to the world" (p. 58). Such statements, and such writing, may do for extemporaneous speech, before a popular audience, but they can hardly be counted among the excellencies of candid discussion, or classed with the results of profound studies. One is tempted to ask, on what more rational hypothesis could one account for the egg becoming a chicken, or the embryo a man, than on that of evolution? The author vigorously combats the proposition that the present is an outcome of the past. "The higher is never deduced from the lower," he asserts; "but both lower and higher are but the several phases of the basal fact thus assumed" (p. 168). Nevertheless, such a statement does not debar him from evolving as good evolution doctrine as the evolutionists themselves, as for example, the following: "Every thing which is to mount above itself must have in itself the tendency to, and provision for, that higher plane. When, then, nature manifested nothing but mechanical or chemical phenomena, it was not merely mechanical and chemical, but more, and was already on the way to the realization of that more. When nature could show nothing higher than the brute,

nature was not merely brute, but more, and the advent of that more into explicit reality was approaching. Without this assumption no scheme of development is for a moment tenable. Every new increment would be a creation, and something would arise from nothing" (p. 169). Certainly.

We have said the author's definitions of abstract terms were often lacking precision. As an example, we cite his definition of knowledge—which shows a want of clearness of conception, and upon his own statement, would justify us in declaring him in this instance devoid of knowledge, since he is wanting in "certainty of conception"—viz.: "Knowledge is the certainty that our conceptions correspond to the fact or truth" (p. 23). "Certainty of conception" is certainly the first requisite of knowledge; but we submit that it is rather a condition essential to knowledge than knowledge itself. One may possess the requisite certainty of conception, and still be ignorant, never having brought his faculties into use. The definition of Dr. Whewell is preferable to this, though even his is defective, viz.: "True knowledge is the interpretation of nature; and therefore it requires both the interpreting mind and nature for its subject; both the document and the ingenuity to read it aright."—*History of the Inductive Sciences*. Vol. I, p. 43.—"Interpreting nature" implies something done; it is incorrect as a definition of knowledge, for the reason that knowledge is a substantive, implying something *possessed* by the mind, rather than an *act* of the mind. What is that something? Manifestly, understanding, or a conception of the proper relation of things. From this point of view, truth and knowledge are nearly synonymous.

It is impossible, for want of space, to follow the author step by step through his long argument from the molecule and its interactions, up to God and his attributes. That the existence of an Omnipresent and Designing Principle—God—should be reached by his argument at last was inevitable from its beginning, notwithstanding his admission that "the theist does not claim to demonstrate the existence of God, but only that the problem of the world and life cannot be solved without God" (p. 4). The author is quite correct in regarding the prevailing agnosticism as speculative rather than a conclusion based on psychological studies. The result of one's thought on the subject of final causes is largely determined by one's habit of mind, early bias, the school one has been trained in, and the philosophical opinions of one's favorite authors. There is a peculiar fascination in the demonstrable which few are able to resist; and when we add to that the preposterous dogmatism with which the inane arguments of theologians have been presented, followed with dire anathemas on such as could not, or would not, accept them, it is no wonder that the rational sense of mankind turns away from them as from "disagreeable conclusions."

*Man's Moral Nature.* By RICHARD MAURICE BUCKE, M. D.  
12° pp. 200. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

THE essay on the basis of *Man's Moral Nature* is anomalous in some respects. Its subject is one of absorbing interest to most people ; and our interest in the treatment of it was enhanced by the fact that the author of the essay was presumably a doctor of medicine, and therefore possessed of qualifications which peculiarly fitted him for his task. Of all men, surely those whose business it is to measure and weigh brains, hunt up the ganglionic centres, and trace their connections with the physical and mental functions, are best entitled to speak with authority concerning the physical basis of the moral nature. The reader will judge of our surprise, therefore, when we turned over the pages of the essay under notice ! The author writes on this beautiful and prolific subject, like one who has just awakened from a Rip Van Winkle sleep. He appears to be ignorant of the labors and demonstrations of physiologists of the last quarter of a century, and writes of things well known to the physiologist of the day as if they were guesses of his own. Had he written them in tolerable English, we should feel constrained to regard the author as an exceptional genius, and excuse the infliction of his book on a long-suffering and forbearing public. But since he writes in disregard of the Queen's English and violates the proprieties of literary taste, we shall not excuse him. The public has rights in this matter which are entitled to respect. No one should spread before the public the wild vagaries of his brain without having some reasonable assurance of their utility. In the present instance the author, according to his own modest assertion, rolls the heavy burden of his thought upon the public, for the sole purpose of easing his own "ganglionic centres." He confesses that he is in doubt as to its value. Indeed, he disclaims all responsibility for it. The thought which the book embodies, he says "grew in me, but I had nothing to do with it—I had absolutely no control over it. It has grown into this book as independently of my volition as the oak is independent of the *will* of the soil." What the "will" of the soil is we do not know and shall not hazard a guess. But we do know and feel that no one should foist a book on the public, dealing with an important subject, without a due sense of personal responsibility. It is idle for a sane person to disclaim responsibility for his ideas ; and if one really feels none for them, it is incumbent upon him that he does not allow himself to become a filter through which the half-digested "stuff" of others may find its way to the public.

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*Der Zweck im Recht.* By RUDOLPH VON IHERING. Vol. V.  
8° pp. 567. Leipsic: BREITKOPF and HÄRTEL.

THE present volume is the offspring of another and still incomplete work—*Der Geist des Römischen Rechts*—a book which accomplished the complete reconciliation of the historical and philosophical schools of jurisprudence. The historical school, strange to say, had produced no able history of the Roman law. Ihering declared that the reason lay in the fact that the school was one-sided; it lacked the philosophical element. He undertook to supply the deficiency. His work was an attempt to trace the history and development of the legal idea, not merely to fix the date of certain statutes, and relate the course of legislation. The central thought of his masterly production was, that the true philosophy of law is the philosophy of its growth, and the true history of law is one which traces legal institutions back to their sources in the social conditions and habits of thought peculiar to the times which gave them birth. The battle-cry of the historical school that "Law is an unconscious development," died away into an echo before this onset. "In nothing," said Ihering, "is a nation more clearly conscious of its needs and purposes than in the domain of law." Legal reforms are born in pain and conflict. But when men struggle, it is with a view to gain some desirable end. In this seeming platitude lay the pregnant apothegm inscribed on the title-page of the book now before us, as a motto and key to the whole system—*Der Zweck ist der Schöpfer des ganzen Rechts*. "All law is framed toward a certain end." This end or purpose which it is the function of law to realize, is the subject of the present inquiry. With genuine German thoroughness he begins with first principles and reasons somewhat as follows: Matter is governed by the law of causation, *causa efficiens*; mind is subject to the law of purpose, *causa finalis*. The law of causation, however, is but the working rule of matter; the world was created by an intelligent being and the law of purpose is the ultimate law. The will is a faculty of independent and original action, and acts always with a purpose. The mind of man, being thus a self-determining agency, a spring of independent action, may become a discordant force in the universe, and counteract the plan of nature. Nature has, therefore, enlisted the coöperation of man in her purposes, by rewarding his compliance with pleasure, and punishing with pain any disobedience of her laws. The same is true of brutes; and it is in the actions of animals that we can best observe the process of volition. Take the example of a brute drinking. The sensation, thirst, is nature's exhortation to drink. Notwithstanding his thirst, a well-trained hound will not drink if his master forbids it. Here we have *self-determination*, as the first element. He drinks because he feels a

want ; that is to say, the ground of the purpose is in the subject himself. Again, he sees in the water a means of satisfying his craving ; that is to say, he is dependent upon this external instrument. His existence is thus conditioned in the purpose to drink. These last two elements make up the idea of interest, or self-interest, which is the spring of all action. Yet the so-called "disinterested actions" are not impossible. Some purposes are egoistic, *i. e.*, self-aggrandizement is the primary object, and any good which may result to others is purely secondary. Other actions involve self-sacrifice; the good of others is the sole design, and the joy which comes from seeing them happy is the only subjective inducement to the act. Duty and love are the springs of disinterested action. Self-interest of a certain sort is there, *i. e.*, the personality of the action is, to a certain extent, conditioned in the purpose ; but it is of a different kind from the self-interest which amasses wealth and feeds ambition. In both cases, it is an effort at self-realization (*Selbst-behauptung*.) This is the highest generalization of human purposes. Every action is in some sense an attempt to effectuate the design of nature in man.

Of the two subdivisions, the egoistical, and the ethical or "disinterested" purposes, the latter will be treated of in the second volume, which is soon to appear. The egoistical purposes are : 1st, the preservation of physical existence (*Physische Selbst-behauptung*) ; 2d the accumulation of property (*ökonomische Selbst-behauptung*) ; property is also indispensable, as a means of gratifying other and higher dispositions than physical cravings. 3d, the maintenance of legal rights (*rechtliche Selbst-behauptung*). The first purpose is dependent on the second for its certain accomplishment, and these two necessitate the third. Life and property are secure only when guaranteed by law and the State. Man exists in a dual relation, for himself as an individual, and for others as a member of society. Society has, therefore, an *a priori* existence, and the *pactum unionis* of Rousseau becomes superfluous. The social constitution embraces three propositions : 1st, I exist for myself ; 2d, others exist for me ; 3d, I exist for others. The individual has a claim upon society because his existence is conditioned in that of others ; society controls the individual because her interests are bound up in him. The so-called state of nature is therefore simply one of barbarism, where men have not yet discovered what nature really ordains. Speaking abstractly, men's interests coincide, but do not conflict. The individual, however, is not always wise, and, since his personal desires are strong and immediate, he is sometimes tempted to pursue his own purpose, at the cost of his fellows. How is society to reconcile these warring interests and make the individual a willing coadjutor in her general plan ? The answer to this question requires an analysis of the whole social mechanism. Such an analysis is the truly magnificent design of the present work. Society plies the individual with motives,

egoistical and ethical. The consideration of the latter class of motives is reserved to the second volume.

The egoistical levers in the social mechanism are commerce and law. In commerce, society seeks to realize the conditions of its existence by a system of rewards. In trade, the individual receives an *equivalent* for all that he is called upon to give or perform; he contributes to the accomplishment of grand social purposes, because he thus gains the means of effectuating his own. The rewards which men receive are sometimes economic, as money and other objects of wealth; sometimes ideal, as honor, power and fame. Society honors none but those who have labored in her service. She does not require them to abjure the ambitions and covetings of individuals, but insists merely that their labor shall be of great benefit to her, and then she crowns them with laurels. Self-interest is the immutable foundation of commerce. Like the coral insect which lives only for itself and, dying, leaves its contribution to the mighty reef, so self-interest, its whole activity centred in the individual, has achieved, by indirection, the marvels of modern civilization.

The second lever is coercion, applied through the instrumentality of law and the State. The State is society as possessor of the power of coercion (*Der Staat ist die Gesellschaft welche zwingt*). There is no arbitrary division of society into sovereign and subjects, as in the systems of Austin and Bentham. These latter writers seem almost to have assumed for the State an *a priori* existence. Ihering regards the State as a growth, and as the product of enlightened self-interest. It is the organization of society for the purpose of actualizing the conditions of social existence by means of coercion. The government is simply a portion of the community to whom has been entrusted the task of executing the design of the State. Social or civil law is regulated force. It is a comprehensive expression for those interests which society is prepared to maintain by coercion. It need not be enacted and announced in the form of a *lex*; though in this way alone can it be surely distinguished from custom. It binds the subject legally and the sovereign morally; for it is of the essence of law that it be constant and certain, both in its substance and in its administration. Justice is another name for the common interest; it is that rule by which all may stand and prosper. Any act which society declares dangerous to the conditions of her existence, is a crime; and punishment is not a matter of philosophical retribution, but is a practical expedient to deter men from crime.

The foregoing brief summary gives but a slight hint of the wealth of novel and profound thought which this book contains, and none whatever of the perspicacity of statement, eloquence of diction and skill in illustration which characterize Professor Ihering as a writer. Enough has been said to show that his view of law, while philosophical, is utilitarian. There are many points of similarity between his system and that of Austin; but

in no sense can he be called an imitator of the latter. His work is undoubtedly the most profound and satisfactory contribution to the science of legal philosophy, since the days of Austin and Bentham.

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HISTORY.

*The North Americans of Antiquity ; their Origin, Migrations, and Type of Civilization Considered.* By JOHN T. SHORT.  
8° pp. 544. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1880.

IT is commonly thought that America possesses no historic antiquity, no heroic and legendary period, no culture-heroes like those of prehistoric Greece, of legendary Scandinavia and Britain. Until recently it has been the custom of Europeans to taunt us with the lack of a grand past, with the absence of noble monuments of our early ages ; and to this day even Americans themselves, in general, have but a faint conception of the grandeur and beauty which the slowly dissolving veil of antiquity is revealing to their sight.

Americans have at length, however, caught the enthusiasm which is making all the ancient seats of Europe and Asia to ring with the sound of the pick and the spade. Schliemann, Cesnola, Layard and Smith are emulated on the western continent by discoverers as ardent and indefatigable as themselves. European archaeologists and historians are nobly matched by Squier, Stephens, Foster, Bancroft, and a host of lesser lights, who are digging deep into the soil of centuries and reaching far back into the darkness of the ages, to bring to light the remains and records of our prehistoric civilization. Especially has the last named of these—Hubert Howe Bancroft—produced a work that may well be called monumental, a labor of enthusiastic love and devotion that has insured him an immortality in the memory and annals of his country. Vast, however, as has been the toil of these men, and valuable as are the results, the progress of discovery is so rapid that their writings constantly need to be supplemented with records of the researches of more and still more recent explorers. It is to this fact that the great worth of the volume now before us is partially due, though its chief value lies in the admirably comprehensive, compressed, and faithful manner in which it summarizes the stores of information that have been brought forth by all the previous workers in this domain.

It must not be inferred that Mr. Short is merely a compiler. He has, himself, spent many years of earnest labor in the field,

and every chapter in his volume bears unmistakable impress of original research and study. While drawing largely from the acquisitions of his predecessors, he very frequently adds the wealth of his own discovery, and often, even in important particulars, differs from the conclusions of others. Nor is this ever done without stating with remarkable justness the position of his opponents, and setting forth amply his grounds of dissent. Designing that his volume should serve as a manual of information relating to the earliest period of North American antiquity, and as an introduction to ancient American history, he devotes the most of his space to presenting a comprehensive view of the civilization of the mound-builders, cliff-dwellers, and Pueblos ; while that most fascinating branch of the study—the traditional history and architectural remains of the Mayas of Yucatan and the Nahuas of Mexico—has received only such attention as could be given to the probable origin and the most remote growth of these ancient peoples. We believe the time is coming when the poets of America will desist from imitations of Hellenic rhythms, or revamping the tales of ancient Europe, and sing the legendary glories of their own country in resonant epics whose very themes will make them grand. The poetry of the Quiché cosmogony the fall of Xibalba—the American Troy, which went down in blood and darkness—and the life and teachings of the saintly Quetzalcoatl, must yet be hymned in song that shall give us our *Iliad*, our *Nibelungenlied* and our *Morte d'Arthur*.

Notwithstanding all that has been thus far accomplished, the origin of the prehistoric Americans is by no means settled ; but there is a strong probability that the ancestors of the Nahuas were closely connected with some Asiatic race. The facts arrayed in Mr. Short's volume show, almost beyond dispute, that northern Asia was the original home of most of the North American tribes. The autochthonic hypothesis, so enthusiastically advanced by Dr. Morton, and apparently so strongly supported by Agassiz's theory of the separate creations of races, seems to be wholly untenable, and, indeed, is rapidly losing ground among scholars. There are many indications that the mound-builders were preceded in this country by men of a much lower type ; but there is, as yet, insufficient evidence to prove anything more than that they were contemporary with these people of a lower order. Dr. C. C. Abbott made a startling discovery, a short time ago, of numerous stone implements in what appeared to be undisturbed drift, at Trenton, N. J. Professor Shaler, however, after examining the deposit, concluded that, while it is of glacial origin, it was subsequently modified by water-action : but he asserts that "if these remains are really those of man, they prove the existence of inter-glacial man on this part of our shore." Dr. Abbott, it must be remarked, believes that the Esquimau is the surviving representative of palæolithic and glacial man in North America. But it seems to us that,

considering the uncertainty attending every such discovery hitherto made in America, there is at present no warrant for asserting the existence of man upon our continent at so early an epoch. Unfortunately, too many important discoveries are made by unskilled and unlearned men, and by the time the scientist reaches the spot, it has become forever impossible to make much scientific use of the discovery; or the story rests on the evidence of a single observer, who may have been mistaken or untruthful; or the "finds" are the work of an enthusiast—like Dr. Koch—whose zeal to support a theory renders his statements unreliable. It will be remembered that about the year 1840, Count Pourtales found human remains, as stated by Agassiz, embedded in a calcareous conglomerate, forming part of a Floridian coral reef. Agassiz thought this reef must be one hundred and thirty-five thousand years old, and the human remains ten thousand years old. Among other noted geologists, Sir Charles Lyell accepted this statement implicitly. But afterwards, Count Pourtales asserted that the relics were not found in a coral formation, but in a fresh-water sandstone, associated with fresh-water shells of species still living in the same lake. Considering the weakness charged upon theologians and metaphysicians by the scientists, the latter should exercise special care against hasty theorizing.

This question of the existence of inter-glacial man in America, however, does not affect the study of historic or legendary man on our continent. It is very probable, as we have said, that man, as we first know him in America, migrated from foreign shores. The traditional history of the Mayas and the Nahuas points to an old world origin. If the traditions of the Mayas have any worth, these people must have originally come from some Mediterranean country, while the Nahuas explicitly and persistently asserted that they themselves came from the north and north-west. Much of the Nahua cosmogony very closely resembles the traditions of the Asiatic peoples. Mr. Short very pertinently asks: "Why should the traditions of the ancient Americans be less reliable than those of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, or Hindoos?" In this he follows the learned Becker, who forcibly says in his "Migration of the Nahuas" (*Congrès international des Américanistes*, Luxembourg, 1877. Tome I, p. 342): "Why should the Aztec priesthood and nobility, a class bred and educated in the understanding of traditional lore and an elaborate system of picture-writing, be considered as a set of metaphysical lunatics who did not know or did not mean what they said?" In the case of the Aztecs, we have the same and the only data which are relied upon so explicitly in tracing the migration of peoples through Asia and Europe, viz.: traditions, language, and architectural remains. And as far as advancement in civilization is concerned, these data are as valuable and trustworthy in the latter instance as in the former—as we shall presently show. The languages, especially, of

the Mayas and the Quichés display affinities to the west European and African tongues, as well as to those of the West Indies and the Antilles. It is clearly proven that this Maya-Quiché family spread its civilization from Panuco on the north to Honduras on the south; and Señor Orozco y Berra—a competent authority—believes that they originally migrated from Florida to Cuba, and thence to Yucatan.

The Nahua migrations appear to have been effected from Asia to our north-western coast; thence, having grown to large proportions, across the water-shed between the sources of the Columbia and Missouri rivers and down through the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, where the Nahuas established a great empire and attained a good degree of civilization. It seems, too, that the host must have divided, a part going into Utah, where their remains are found in the famous cliff-dwellings of the San Juan valley. Yet this belief rests solely on linguistic and traditional evidence, there being no similarity between the works of the cliff-dwellers and those of the mound-builders. There is no substantial reason for believing that these mound-builders were autochthones, while there is much probability that they were Nahuas. The mound crania, pottery and sculptured portraiture of the facial type, added to the indications of commercial intercourse—such as the discovery of the Mexican obsidian in the mounds of the Ohio valley—make the evidence connecting the mound-builders with the Nahuas almost decisive. The civilization of the mound-builders, moreover, was considerably advanced. Their settlements were wide-spread, and they evidently had a vast and well-governed empire, otherwise they could not have erected works which approximate the proportions of the Egyptian pyramids. They were both an agricultural and a manufacturing people, and their manufactures show that they well understood the value of the division of labor. Home culture and domestic industry were considerably developed, as is proved by the contents of the mounds. They mined copper extensively, they quarried mica for mirrors, and they worked flint and salt mines. Their trade was wide-spread, extending from Lake Superior to Mexico. They even connected the lakes by canals, and some of the bayous in Louisiana are pronounced to be the work of their hands. Altogether, it is probable that the great Hue hue Tlapalan (old red land) which the early Mexicans never tired in talking of, bordered on the Mississippi valley. The proof can never be complete, however, until some one shall compare the Aztec language with those of the southern Indians.

But if the Mayas and the Nahuas migrated hither from the old world, their civilization, at least, was entirely indigenous. It grew up from the soil, and was the result of the circumstances and requirements of the continent. Every possible effort has been made, often with wonderful persistency and ingenuity, to discover marked resemblances between the civilization of these peoples and of the

peoples of the old world. But the success has been very small, and the field is now deserted by all save enthusiasts and visionaries. There are occasional analogies, as the serpent worship and phallus worship, common to the American aborigines and the people of India. The calendar systems of both Mayas and Nahuas are somewhat like those of the Persians and Egyptians, and it seems probable that the groundwork of the Nahuas system was actually borrowed from the latter. Perhaps the most remarkable fact connected with the early Americans—and one that should utterly discomfit those scholars who sneer at the value of this study—is the fact that the system of the Aztecs was so perfect that when Cortes arrived he found the Julian calendar, as compared with the Mexican, to be ten days in error. The Aztecs had reckoned the true length of the year to within two minutes and nine seconds. No one thing proves so indisputably the high degree of civilization which the Aztecs had reached, unaided by any of the appliances which had been known in the old world since the time of Caliph Almamon.

The only revolting feature in this ancient civilization is the introduction of human sacrifices. "Still," says Mr. Short, for we will quote the words with which he concludes his volume, "when we reflect upon the Druidical horrors of the Britons at the time of the Roman conquest, and realize that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in the sixth century sold their relatives and even their own children into slavery, and were but slightly removed from the condition of cannibals, if they were not actually such, the ancient American civilization with its many humane features and advanced culture rises up in splendor before us, in marked contrast with our barbarous origin. Although this civilization was indigenous and peculiar to itself, we find all of the American tribes possessed of certain arts and traditions which seem common to mankind in all parts of the world. The character of flint weapons and implements is the same among all primitive peoples. The modes of producing fire by friction and of grinding grain differ little, if any, in America, from those employed by ancient peoples elsewhere. The first efforts toward the development of the architectural idea all round the globe, seem to find expression in the rude mound and then in the more perfect pyramid. These and other considerations, which have been noted in the preceding pages, lead us to the conclusion that at a remote period, before racial and national characteristics had been well defined, this continent received its population from the old world, at different times and from different quarters. The uniformity with which the human mind operates in all lands for the accomplishment of certain ends, has in many instances resulted in the independent development of institutions common to several peoples. This fact, together with the probability that occasionally foreigners were cast upon the American shores, will be sufficient to account for many features

which have been discovered in Mexican and Central American architecture, art and religion, presenting analogies with the old world. The fact that civilizations having such analogies are developed in isolated quarters of the globe, separated from each other by broad seas and lofty mountains, and thus indicating a uniformity of mental operation and a unity of mental inspiration, added to the fact that the evidence is of a preponderating character that the American continent received its population from the old world, leads us to the truth that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men.'"

With regard to the *externals* of the volume, the publishers have given it all the beauty of dress for which they are justly so famous. Every page is a delight to the eye. The illustrations are very profuse, and, in point of execution, leave nothing to be desired. We wish, however, that greater care had been expended on the index. An index is nothing, if not accurate. Yet we find here, after only a few moments' examination, such errors as these :

"Antiquity of man—testimony of geology, 102," instead of 112 ; "antiquity of man in Europe, 24, n. 1," should be n. 2 ; "analogies Scandinavian and Mexican, 464," should be 466 ; "ancient forts of New York, Col. Whittlesey and Foster on, 28," instead of 29 ; "Bancroft on Aztec language, 476, n. 2," should be *Farrar* instead of Bancroft ; "Brinton, Dr., Buddha and Quetzalcoatl compared by," should be *Humboldt* instead of Brinton.

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*Four Lectures on some Epochs of Early Church History.*

By CHARLES MERIVALE, D.D., Dean of Ely. 12° pp. 212.  
New York : Anson D. F. Randolph and Company.

DEAN MERIVALE is profound authority on that fruitful age which clusters around the establishment of the Roman Empire, whether we regard its political or its ecclesiastical history. In his later writings, however, we miss something of that peculiar vigor which distinguished his *History of the Romans under the Empire*, and of that brilliant analysis there displayed—as, for instance, in his treatment of the Emperor Claudius. In the little volume before us, he disavows all pretension to special research or originality ; yet so eminent a scholar and thinker cannot discuss themes of such import as are here treated, without stamping the discussion with the impress of his learning.

The first lecture deals with the outward, the objective, the visible Church of the century following the conversion of Constantine ; it describes the political establishment of the Church, and its union with the Roman Empire. St. Ambrose is selected as the central figure of this epoch. The parti-colored religious aspect of the age of Constantine, the anomalous position of

Christianity, the hopefulness of Paganism even in its death-struggle, and the moral dissoluteness and religious indifference of the people, are all graphically and vividly portrayed. The adoption of the Christian faith by Constantine did not make that faith in any sense the religion of the empire. Even the Edict of Milan only gave to Christianity a legal toleration. While Constantine was personally a believer, he well knew that he could not rely, for the government of the world, upon so small a fraction of his subjects as were the Christians. Yet, among all the causes assigned by historians for Constantine's desertion of Rome, Dr. Merivale decides that he withdrew because of the religious difficulty which he foresaw would constantly increase. The author's opinion on such a question is one of great weight. Constantine's final reliance upon the Christians was due to the fact that they were honest, faithful, fearless and devoted—in short, the stuff of which empires are constituted.

After a rapid preliminary sketch of the condition of the Church, Ambrose is introduced, when the throne of the western Cæsars was definitively settled at Milan, in the last half of the fourth century. With much skill, the author seizes upon the dramatic incidents in the life of Ambrose, as well as in the career of the notables who form the subjects of the remaining lectures—and that, too, without warping his argument from its true course. He considers as mythical the famous story that Ambrose was made bishop through the exclamation of an unseen child; gives a graphic picture of the refusal of the Pagan pontifical robe by Gratian, and of the great dispute between Paganism and Christianity, in the persons of Ambrose and Symmachus. Of the argument of Ambrose, in this latter case, the learned and liberal-minded dean holds a very poor opinion, in which we think he has the support of all save the ultramontane historians. Honest and indignant, moreover, is the judgment pronounced upon Ambrose's persecution of the Jews,—the first of the long and horrible series which disgraced the Christian Church. The acts we have thus mentioned formed the successive encroachments made by the Church upon the State, and by which Ambrose prepared the way for the one bold and resolute stroke that placed the Church above the State as its spiritual controller,—the open rebuke inflicted on the Emperor Theodosius. In distinction from many historians, Dr. Merivale considers this bold act as thoroughly genuine and honest on the part of Ambrose, and rejects the idea of its having been previously arranged for theatrical effect. In either case, however, its meaning was the same. Unfortunately, while its immediate effect was salutary, the act has been made an example by the Church of Rome, which has since drawn from it many audacious corollaries. The bishop of Milan sowed the seed of that spiritual arrogance which has been so intolerable for centuries past. After this, the step was short and rapidly taken that united Church and State. Theodosius made Pagan worship unlawful, although it still

continued, audaciously or furtively, and for many years to come even seduced Christians into the practice of its rites. Not until the sack of Rome by Alaric, was Paganism finally extinguished.

The second lecture takes for its theme the life and teachings of St. Augustine, as fitly representing the inner life of the Church, its religious views and sentiments. The author gives a rapid and vivid *resumé* of the wonderful *Confessions*, concerning the spirit and sentiment of which he holds views eminently salutary. These "confessions" are a signal instance of the self-conscious, self-accusing, self-tormenting spirit which often breathes in the autobiographies of converts to a vital faith; but the spirit is one of temperament rather than of reason and reflection, and its influence is baneful. A fine comparison is drawn between these confessions of Augustine and the *Meditations* of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus. In reflecting upon the lofty sentiment of Paganism, when at its best, it is worth noticing that the conversion of Augustine was brought about, primarily, through studying the *Hortensius* of Cicero. This conversion gave to the early Church its strongest man. From the year when he became a bishop, until his death, his influence constituted in fact a papacy. In the three mighty struggles of the age—the Arian, Donatist and Pelagian—he was the head and front of orthodoxy, the champion of the western Church. Dr. Merivale's summary of these contests is admirable, setting forth in brief yet clear terms the essence and tendency of each heresy, the issues at stake, and the arguments of the great bishop of Hippo. St. Augustine's course was the same in each instance; having passed, during his own growth, through nearly all of the existing heresies, he based his arguments and opinions on his own deep personal experience. Dr. Merivale thinks that the rise of Arianism was allowed by Providence as a means by which the Pagans might be brought gradually to the discipline of the Christian faith. As against the Donatists, whom he calls the Puritans of that time, he feels that Augustine was not wholly right; and we are glad to see so distinguished a prelate of the formal Church of England emphatically insisting on the subjective character of a true saving faith, and rejecting the Augustinian view, too prevalent even now, that none outside the Church can be "saved," while no one within its pale can hardly be "lost." It was in connection with the Donatists that Augustine stained the honor of his great name by resorting to persecution, and calling in the secular power to impose uniformity of religious belief. Nor does he come off blameless from his contest with the Pelagians, as in this he is certainly open to the charge of inconsistency. His utterances on this heresy are scattered throughout his writings, and belong to widely different periods of his life. In refuting the Manicheans, he admitted the freedom of the will; while, in combating the Pelagians, he denies that man can will or do anything of his own power. His self-contradictions can never be harmonized; they

may be partially explained, however, by the fact already mentioned, that he invariably based his arguments and opinions on his own personal experience.

The third lecture is the most eloquent and interesting of the volume ; perhaps because it has the most stirring theme—"St. Leo the Great and the Rise of the Papacy." It shows how the sack of Rome forced the extinction of Paganism, and was the commencement of modern society and of papal supremacy; Leo, indeed, was the first to contemplate a primacy. There was need of just such a strong, bold leader, for even amid the falling of Rome—when the Pagans were in consternation at the indifference of their gods and the Christians were reaping, in the exertions put forth by Alaric in their behalf, the reward of their attachment to the faith—even then these Christians were pusillanimous and doubting, and displayed but little confidence in the God they followed, or the vitality of the principles which they professed. Dr. Merivale performs with much skill the critical and delicate task of examining the effect of the overthrow of Paganism upon the profession of Christianity. It is altogether the most scholarly and valuable passage in the book. The growth of the papacy, and the age of transition, are also depicted with a few broad, rapid touches which bring out graphically and faithfully the characteristics of the time. As the survival of Paganism in Christian rites is attracting so much attention at the present day, it is worthy of note that the author occupies, in this regard, a position almost by the side of Dr. Inman himself.

"But the real corruption of the age," he writes, "was shown in the unstinted adoption of Pagan usages in the ceremonial of the Christian Church, with all the baneful effects they could not fail to produce on the spiritual training of the people. There are not wanting indeed passages in the popular teachings of St. Leo, in which he beats the air with angry denunciations of auguries and sortilege and magic, stigmatizes idolatry as the worship of demons, and the devil as the father of Pagan lies. But neither Leo, nor, I think, the contemporary doctors of the Church, seem to have had an adequate sense of the process by which the whole essence of Paganism was, throughout their age, constantly percolating the ritual of the Church and the hearts of the Christian multitude. It is not to these that we can look for a warning that the fasts prescribed by the Church had their parallel in the abstinence imposed by certain Pagan creeds, and required to be guarded and explained to the people in their true Christian significance; that the Monachism they extolled so warmly, and which spread so rapidly, was in its origin a purely Pagan institution, common to the religions of India, Thibet, and Syria, with much, no doubt, to excuse its extravagance in the hapless condition of human life at the period, but with little or nothing to justify it in the charters of our Christian belief; that the canonizing of saints and martyrs, the honors paid them and the trust

reposed in them, were simply a revival of the old Pagan mythologies ; that the multiplication of formal ceremonies with processions and lights and incense and vestments, with images and pictures and votive offerings, was a mere Pagan appeal to the senses, such as can never fail to enervate man's moral fibre ; that, in short, the general aspect of Christian devotion, as it met the eye of the observer, was a faint and rather frivolous imitation of the old Pagan ritual, the object of which from first to last was not to instruct, or elevate man's nature, but simply to charm away the ills of life by adorning and beautifying his present existence."

The closing lecture describes the growth and early results of missions, discussing also the rise of the conventual system and the character of the Gallican Church, and lacks the vigor of style and expression which characterizes the author's *Conversion of the Northern Nations*.

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*Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism.* By THOMAS INMAN, M. D. With an Essay on Baal Worship, on the Assyrian Sacred "Grove" and other allied Symbols. By JOHN NEWTON, M. R. C. S. E., etc. Third Edition, with 200 illustrations. 8° pp. 147. New York : J. W. Bouton. 1880.

DR. INMAN'S *Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Names* created considerable consternation in the Christian ranks. Some critics fiercely attacked it, but they were quarrelling, for the most part, with obvious facts. Other critics handled it very delicately, as if seeking to allay whatever curiosity might be raised. For ourselves, we saw no occasion to tremble. Such facts as seemed incontestably proven were certainly unpleasant, in a large degree, to our modern ideas of refinement ; but we should reflect that the early peoples were children of nature, and that their religions were unavoidably based on the processes of nature.

The present work, when first issued, several years ago, did not tend to allay the agitation created by the former. It is, indeed, not pleasant reading, and is surely not meant for babes ; yet its subject is a perfectly legitimate one for research, and the results of that research are of great value to the world, which is fast outgrowing its old dread of investigation in matters of religion, and is coming to desire the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

While we are not of those who consider Dr. Inman an enemy to religion because he has dug out so much dirt from its foundations ; and while we do not join those who charge him with being driven by a hobby, we nevertheless feel that many of

his deductions are unwarranted by the facts, and that he finds sexualism in many words, acts and symbols where it does not, at least consciously, exist. We believe it to be indisputable that the early religions were based on sexualism, and that their symbols were largely the expression of sexualism. Mr. Newton, in his appended essay, gives what is doubtless the true—as it is certainly a sufficient—cause: “What do men desire and long for most? *Life*.” It was the passion for life, and the contemplation of the often-recurring miracle of birth, that gave the tone to man’s early attempts at religious faith and worship. But when Dr. Inman insists that the monument over a Christian’s grave, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the chasuble worn by papal hierarchs, are emblems of the male or female elements, we are obliged to dissent. It may be very true that sexual symbolism has been perpetuated from system to system, until it has entered into Christianity; but we see no reason to believe that in Christianity these symbols ever had their original significance. Like many words in the Greek New Testament, although they were borrowed from Paganism, they received *in transitu* entirely new meanings, or rose from expressing the base and earthy, to expressing the pure and heavenly.

Dr. Inman is deserving of high praise for the exceedingly laborious task he has performed, and he should be encouraged by every student of religion. They are very few who have the skill, the taste, the leisure, or the willingness to carry on such a study. There has hitherto been little research in this direction, among Englishmen, and the results of even that little have been often withheld from the public, for reasons easily understood. Dr. Inman’s attempt is, as he himself asserts, only tentative, and by no means exhaustive. His style is marred by many literary blemishes, but he is often pithy in his sayings, and, when attacking superstition, or a theory to which he is antagonistic, he becomes very lively and entertaining. It is when he draws deductions from his facts, and constructs theories of his own, that he exposes his weakness and becomes unsafe to follow.

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*History of the Christian Church, from its Origin to the Present Time.* By W. M. BLACKBURN, D. D. 8° pp. 719. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden; New York: Phillips and Hunt. 1879.

PROF. BLACKBURN has produced, in this volume, a comprehensive, laborious, and painstaking manual of Church history, with some special features to commend it to the student. He writes from the evangelical point of view, treats each period according to the plan best adapted to it; groups the facts around

representative men or principles, while maintaining the chronological order; surveys these facts from other base-lines than the usual ones of Pagan imperialism, the papacy, or some individual form of Protestantism; and gives most attention to the origin and development of those ideas that have entered most completely into the Christian civilization of Europe and North America. This latter is a course well chosen, since he writes for English peoples, and consequently the Greek and Roman types of Christianity have less vital practical interest to them than the Germanic and English types. The chief element of originality in the work, however, is found in the new methods and combinations which he employs—the three ministries, the circuit of early churches, the chart of early controversies, the six types of European missions, the circles of Protestant reformers. An important feature, also, is furnished in the several charts, presenting Church history in a very concise and impressive manner.

The scope of the work is broad; the tone liberal, for an evangelical; and there is a marked and praiseworthy effort at impartiality, which is generally successful. It was unavoidable, of course, that the author, when characterizing the various sects, creeds, and religious movements, should employ epithets—although in a merely historical manner—that will arouse vigorous dissent in the adherents of these principles; but of the genuine *odium theologicum* we find a decided lack. The most valuable portion of the work to Americans is that which discusses the development of Christianity in the United States; and we are acquainted with no manual of the kind which does this more amply. This part of the history is brought down to the present time, and, as far as we have tested it, is perfectly reliable.

Of the style of the work we cannot speak so highly. While straightforward and compact, it has no ease, no flow; nor is it sufficiently vivid or picturesque. There is frequent awkwardness, and now and then a solecism. We notice, besides, an occasional misspelling of proper names, which is doubtless due to that incorrigible scape-goat for ignorance and carelessness on the part of authors—the proof-reader.

## BIOGRAPHY.

*The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany.* Revised from Lady Llanover's edition and edited by SARAH CHAUNCEY WOOLSEY. 12<sup>o</sup> 2 vols., pp. 465, 499. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1879.

LITERATURE has its favorite Maries—as the Queen of Scots had hers; and for many happy reasons it may be said that—in the words of Lord Byron, who remembered Mary Chaworth—

“There is a magic in the name of Mary.”

It is a subject on which a pleasing book could be written. Meantime, we may observe—standing at a distance from the stern shade of Mary Somerville, the astronomer—that three of the most charming letter-writers of France and England were Marie de Rabutin-Chantal (Sevigné), Mary Wortley Montagu and Mary Granville-Pendarves Delany, whose *Autobiography and Correspondence* are now presented to the public. The readers of a new generation will no doubt be gratified to know something more about one whom they have seen quoted or alluded to in the literature of the day. Lady Llanover's edition of this work was published in six volumes by Bentley (London) in 1861.

Mrs. Delany's literary remains are among the most attractive things of the kind in our language—more interesting than Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, as an exponent of the modes, manners and thoughts of English society in the eighteenth century. Mr. Stebbing has been recently arguing that the period preceding our own was not so dull and stagnant as many people are apt to suppose, and has presented several facts to sustain his statements. He could have materially served his purpose by quoting the work before us, which tends to show that the eighteenth century was not behind the present in many valuable particulars. It allows us to see that a multitude of ladies belonging to the Georgian era were highly educated, and possessed, furthermore, of a certain originality of character which has been worn away, or refined away, from the womanhood of the present time. Mary Delany's letters throw a more vivid light upon the usages, customs, occupations and principles of the English aristocracy and middle class, than the writings of Richardson, Walpole, and Fanny Burney put together; and the volumes before us have the charm of a novel of high society, in which the author plays the part of a heroine, not the less interesting because it is a true one, and full of the natural diversities of common life. Her birth made her a member of the aristocracy, while the comparative narrowness of her means brought her into contact and sympathy with the wants and ways of the gentry—

and this constitutes the charm of her record. She had the tastes of a refined lady, and she was always as busy as a bee, planning or doing a thousand elegant or homely things. She worked with the needle and thread and scissors, as happily as with the pen. She was able to draw—as we may see by the portrait of her sister, in the second of these volumes—and to paint, and was a designer and maker of artificial flower-groups at a time when that “fine art” was very little practised in England. She built grottos and other wonders in shellwork, and produced a world of embroidery for dresses, bedding and household furniture; and along with all this, she could play very charmingly on the spinet—precursor of the piano-forte. She could do a great many admirable things as well as write letters, and the interest of these last would be far less than it is, if those things had not been recorded with them. Edmund Burke said of her, in his own fervid Irish way: “She is not only the woman of fashion of her own age, but the highest-bred woman in the world, and the woman of fashion of all ages”; and that was also the opinion of quite another sort of character—being George the Third himself.

The narrative of Mary Granville is quite as interesting as any of her sayings or doings. She has her trials, griefs and love-affairs; and she tells us, if not all about them, at least something about them; and we very willingly listen to that long story of seventy years, beginning in 1718 and ending in 1788. Her ancestor, Granville, was a soldier of Charles I; her uncle was made Lord Lansdowne by Queen Anne, and her father, Bernard Granville, a younger brother, had a place at Court. On the death of the queen, in 1714, the Granvilles were suspected of a plot to make her brother, the Pretender, king of England, and Bernard was obliged to exile himself at a farm-stead at Gloucestershire with his wife and two daughters, Mary aged fourteen, and Anne, in her sixth year. At the age of seventeen, Mary lived in a kind of dependence at the house of her uncle, Lord Lansdowne; and here she met her first husband, Pendarves, a slovenly old fellow in his sixtieth year, sottish and gouty in his habits. She gives a frank account of her dislike of him from the first moment. But Pendarves, a rich man, was encouraged by the Lansdownes, and, in spite of her tears, the girl of seventeen was obliged to consent, and be “handsomely provided for.” The marriage was followed by a dreary journey of several days to the bridegroom’s lonely and dilapidated mansion, where the bride, looking around in the cheerless hall, sat down on a settle and cried. But the old man humored her, and was not such a bad husband after all. She endured him and his gout for seven years, when she found herself a young widow of twenty-four with a handsome jointure—and a very happy frame of mind. It was not regarded disreputable for a lady to sell herself then, nor is it, unhappily, now.

The next twenty years of Mrs. Pendarves’ life were passed in the highest and gayest society of England and Ireland, where she

found a great many admirers—Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, being one of these, a man who looked for fortune with a wife, and finding that the widow was not as rich as he had supposed, jilted her. In 1731, Mrs. Pendarves enjoyed the society of Dublin and the viceregal Castle and made the acquaintance of Dr. Swift, who, in spite of his growing deafness and the discontent that accompanied it, was charmed with her and showed his partiality in his own way, that of a "master", anxious for the "improvement" of his favorites. He never made the acquaintance of an agreeable woman without wishing to benefit her in the matters of orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody; and it is to the credit of the ladies of his time that most all of them liked him cordially. Mrs. Pendarves certainly did, and corresponded with him, receiving in return some of his letters, which are printed in this work.

In 1743, came the other "fate" of Mary Granville—the second husband, Dr. Delany, aged fifty-nine. She had met him in Ireland, and his admiration was far more gentle and fervent than that of Dean Swift. When she became a widow, Delany went to England, and made his suit with such an eloquent and flattering pertinacity (as his letters testify) that the widow surrendered, in spite of the opposition of the Lansdownes and other high connections. But she was the best judge of her own happiness; and for the next twenty-five years, "Pat Delany"—made Dean of Down, through his wife's interest—proved himself one of the kindest and most indulgent of husbands, allowing his wife to make repeated visits to England, and, with great consideration, not accompanying her too often.

In 1768 Mary Granville was again a widow, quiet and comfortable, with twenty good years of life still before her. They were spent easily, and for the most part happily, in the midst of her old aristocratic friends and their descendants, and in the society of the king and queen themselves, who, in her later years, furnished her with elegant apartments at Windsor, and welcomed her to their court-shows and receptions. To the last her letters are lively descriptions of the society in which she moved and—we have observed already—of the manners and modes of English society a hundred years ago. Mrs. Delany gave all her thoughts to that society and does not appear to have speculated much on the great movements of statesmanship and war that agitated the nations. It is possible she may have written about those things—among them the stormy controversy over the great American rebellion—and that her aristocratic relations have refused to perpetuate any of her commentaries. These last form probably not one-tenth of her writings; nor is it likely that what has been suppressed would have proved as interesting to the present age, as the published remains before us.

But Mrs. Delany has done enough, in the way of picturing the scenes and people of her day; and the lovers of curious

literature and the historians of social life will gather from her pages a number of things worth remembering and reproducing. Her house-keeping descriptions are very graphic—among them, those of the Irish parties at the deanery (Mount Panther), in 1758. We see everything—the gay fiddlers at one end of the long room, the couples in the dance, the tea enjoyed in the next room, or brought in from it; the sumptuous cold suppers, with fruit and sweet things—all excellent in their way. “Everybody was pleased, and that gave pleasure to the dean and myself.” In 1768 we see a gay court-dance at Windsor, in which George III danced the “Hempstress” for two hours with Lady Mary Lowther. The Irish parties at the deanery are far more interesting than the seizure of Silesia by Frederick II, of Prussia, which Mrs. Delany never mentioned in any of her letters; and that “Hempstress”—which the pundits of *Notes and Queries* have not yet ventured to interpret in any way—is a much more welcome reminiscence of old times than would have been, in 1770, any allusion to the marriage of Marie Antoinette, of Austria, with Louis XVI, and the grand *fêtes* that followed.

As Mary Granville, in her life, sets forth a great many peculiarities of her time, she furnishes one more in the mode of her death, at the ripe age of eighty-eight. Her physicians put an end to her prematurely—otherwise she would probably have lived ten years longer. The medical customs of that age were terrible, and diseases were things to be assaulted—not managed with prudence, or any respect for the *vis medicatrix nature*, which people in the present day are beginning to recognize. The patient had some feverish symptoms with sore throat; and, by way of relieving her, they drew off a great quantity of blood. As this did not improve her condition, they ordered a powerful blister, which might have helped her if her blood had not been previously exhausted.

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*Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton.* A Historical Study.

By Hon. GEORGE SHEA. 8° pp. 471. Second edition, revised and corrected. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

*Imperium et Libertas* is the motto of Chief-Justice Shea, as well as of Lord Beaconsfield. Both of these authors and statesmen—for we are sure the judge is as good a statesman as his contemporary of the “strategic frontier”—favor a strong government, on the principle of centralized order; and certainly, the idea could find many things to recommend it—the analogy of our solar system, for example, in which the planets do a sort of primary duty for themselves, on their axes, and at the same time do homage to their centre of life and motion. But the author seems too

ready to identify the life-work of Hamilton with the form and character of the Union ; and furthermore, greatly too emphatic, when he asserts that, as it was the violent death of Cæsar which led to the imperialism of Rome, the fall of Hamilton in like manner brought about, or helped to bring about, the union of the States in empire." Everything seems to show that it was no one man, but the necessity of the time and general progress of ideas which fixed the form of our government. That system of empire, as the chief-justice has observed—was counselled by Benjamin Franklin in 1754, before Hamilton was born, with reference to England and her dependencies ; and subsequently, when the Colonists in alliance had won their memorable fight, they saw plainly enough that the world would not let them fall back again into the old provincial grooves, or maintain any loose or sequestered condition of brotherly love, in the midst of the vast and plentiful resources of the country. The European monarchies touched them on all sides, by land and by sea, threatening the confederacy, and putting its maritime commerce in peril. In spite of a few timid grumblers who thought they had good right to distrust any sort of centralization, the Americans in general agreed to close up their ranks, and present a solid front to the world. They did not, in fact, wish to shut themselves out, or in, from the old world, which was so intimately connected with their traditions and ideas : and even if let alone, in the midst of their Arcadian advantages, they would have gone forth to mingle with the nations, and run the risk of quarrelling on all sides. A strong, compact government on this continent was inevitable. The author, presenting his brief record of those revolutionary men and matters, indicates in several places the foreign jealousies or menaces which, in his opinion, made a close union of the provinces necessary. If Hamilton had never been born, the American Union would not have materially suffered in its progress.

The conclusions of the author are no doubt founded on the complete career of Hamilton. But the volume before us presents little or nothing of that career. It ends when he was twenty years old—a mere lad, though a very clever one ; and the author has been obliged to anticipate in the first chapter the acts of Hamilton's later life, and emphasize them with the estimates of contemporaries and survivors. There is a sort of inversion in this ; while the general reader would like to begin with the beginning, for his own ease, and proceed in order. He would also prefer that Hamilton should be the prominent figure in his own biography, and not put out of sight so often in the narrative of contemporary men and things. But this treatment was, perhaps, inevitable, for the above-mentioned reason, that the work extends, in point of time, only to the twentieth year of its subject, who had not then entered on the career of statesmanship for which he has been most distinguished. It is a

"study," rather than a biography, as far as it goes. The author promises—or half promises—a continuation of the work, from the year 1777, at which period Hamilton was one of the aides-de-camp of General Washington.

It is to be hoped Judge Shea will carry out this purpose of completing a work, which, with all its collateral excursiveness, is really very attractive. Its style is earnest and glowing, and will not allow the reader to go through it in any languid way. Sometimes he will feel a wish to question some curiosities of expression, and hold an argument. He will also wish to make pencillings here and there; reading on, all the time, as if he could not help himself. In the end he sums up, and declares it is a pity Judge Shea ever allowed his business at any court to interfere with the far more important work of setting forth the life and times of Hamilton—thus disturbing the author's continuity of thought, and obliging him, at times, to write sentences requiring the supervision of a mind more at ease. George Shea writes, sometimes, as carelessly as did George Washington, and it is a pity he had not a Hamilton at his elbow, just "to hint a fault and hesitate dislike," on proper provocation.

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*A Life Worth Living.* Memorials of Emily Bliss Gould. By LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. 12° pp. 284. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Company. 1880.

DR. BACON has emphatically answered the question recently asked: "Is life worth living?" Not by disputatious argument, but by presenting the life and works of one who has shown by precept and example how a life can be *made* worth living. Mrs. Gould left her native country—America—in company with her husband in the Summer of 1860. She was then thirty-eight years of age, and still possessed of the beauty and grace that so distinguished her in New York society. After a hasty tour of the Continent they settled in Rome, where Mrs. Gould's labors began in the establishing of schools for Italian children of the lower class.

The work rapidly progressed and prospered, notwithstanding the opposition of the Church; and amid continued drawbacks, petty persecutions, and slanderous imputations, Mrs. Gould steadily pursued her course, undaunted by disappointments, teaching in the schools herself, and personally supervising everything pertaining to them, long after her state of health imperatively demanded rest.

In the Summer of 1874, exhausted with care, Mrs. Gould sought rest among the Apennines. She found her rest in a characteristic way. Although suffering with the beginning of a

fatal illness, she drew together the children of the village whither she had repaired, and opened a school! But in the midst of her work she was compelled to desist from her labors. To the last her thoughts were occupied for the welfare of the little ones under her care. Her death, which occurred in 1875, was widely and sincerely mourned. The Italian press recognized her works and the Christ-like spirit which animated her life, writing of her in terms of most respectful admiration. Many will be the men and women, to whom were taught correct principles, and a trade whereby to earn an honest living, who will rise up and call her blessed.

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*The Poets Laureate of England.* Being a History of the Office of Poet Laureate. By WALTER HAMILTON. 12° pp. 308. London: Elliot Stock; New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1879.

THIS volume gives a comparatively comprehensive biography of the poets-laureate from Chaucer and Gower—who were but self-styled laureates—and Ben Jonson, who was regularly appointed by King James in 1616, with a salary of about £67 per annum, to Tennyson the present laureate. Mr. Hamilton has collected a large number of the many satires, epigrams, and lampoons directed against these poets, many of which are very amusing.

"It is, perhaps, to be regretted," the author says, "that no collection of the laureate official odes and poems has ever been published. Their poetical merits are certainly not generally of a high class, but the historical facts they allude to might be of interest to the antiquary, and the philological student could in them trace back our language through many of its curious variations. Or, if we might take the complete works of our laureates, both in prose and verse since Chaucer's time, without reference to any other writers, we should have a tolerably comprehensive and complete history of the English language, poetry, drama, morals, politics and religion, extending over more than five centuries."

How the author could conceive the history of English poetry and drama even "tolerably complete," and exclude some of their greatest writers, is inexplicable. A history of English poetry, drama, morals, etc., without Milton, Shakespeare, Pope, Byron, Burns and others, would be like a history of Rome with Cæsar left out. Nevertheless, we wish the publisher had acquitted himself as creditably as the author, and printed the book on better paper and in clearer type.

## POLITICS.

*A True Republic.* By ALBERT STICKNEY. 12<sup>o</sup> pp. 271.  
New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

THIS book with its excellent suggestions comes at a most opportune moment, when the whole country impatiently awaits the issues of certain complications, to know if this great republic under its present Constitution can sustain itself. *A True Republic* is worthy of the most careful consideration of all those interested in the momentous questions involved in a popular government. The present Constitution of the United States has had a trial of nearly one hundred years; it has done a noble work; but may not the requirements of another century necessitate the infusion of younger blood? "Every new Constitution," writes Mr. Stickney, "or form of government, or statute, is nothing but an experiment in political science. The Constitution of 1787 was simply another experiment; and the men who framed it never thought it anything else. The idea that some men now hold, that this Constitution of the United States is the one perfect piece of political machinery that the world has ever seen, is a weak growth of later years. The men of 1787 knew better. No one of them thought it the best form of government that could be devised. It was the only form on which they could agree. It was a form, as they well knew, *to be tried*, and be changed, if upon trial it should be found, in some points, to fail" (p. 12). Mr. Stickney considers that, as we have a wider information than the men of a century ago, since where they had conjecture we have knowledge, and what they began as an experiment we can view through its results, it were mere folly to reject the ripper experiences of later years for a superstitious reverence for the past. He thinks the many good points of our Constitution are obvious; but that there are many and serious defects in our present political system, no one can deny, and the author desires to point out these faults and discover their remedies.

Mr. Stickney therefore proceeds to show the evils of "hereditary monarchy," of "constitutional royalty." As an example of the latter, he cites the working of the English War-Office, to which he devotes several pages: "The War Minister of England is held responsible," he says, "not for what he himself has or has not done, but for something done or not done by the ministry as a body. Individual responsibility for individual acts is destroyed. And, as one member of the ministry, he is held responsible, in the vast majority of instances, not for work done by him or them in the affairs of the War-Office, but for something done in the House of Commons. It may indeed happen that a ministry would be driven to resign for mismanagement of the

War-Office or the Foreign Office. Nearly always, however, the head of the War-Office, as one of the ministers, goes out of office, not for anything that concerns the management of the army, but because the ministry have lost votes in the House of Commons on some such matter as the Roman Catholic Emancipation, or the Irish Church, or a House Tax (p. 35). "Their War Minister has always spent his time in managing the House of Commons. He has always been made minister for the reason that he could manage the House of Commons" (p. 36). "The English revolution against hereditary monarchy is not yet finished. But until it is finished, and until royal power is placed in fit and responsible hands, the English people will have, not a government, but a medley. The attempt to use the machinery of hereditary feudalism for doing the work of a free people is a method behind the age" (p. 67). The author then sums up his conclusions in a few words, the substance of which is that every one should be selected according to his fitness for the work assigned him, and should be responsible only for his own work and that under his control.

In the following chapter on "False Republicanism" the author deals with some of the abuses in our government generated under party power. He charges the beginning of these abuses—the result of party pressure—upon Jefferson and Van Buren. "The practice instituted by Mr. Jefferson of making appointments to, and removals from, office for mere party reasons grew, until Mr. Van Buren established it in all its fulness" (p. 73). Mr. Stickney regards President Lincoln "as a man of remarkable eloquence and of a peculiar wisdom that seemed at times to be a kind of inspiration; \* \* \* of thoroughly pure intentions, having in all his acts only a wish to serve the people's highest interest," yet even he was forced into compliance with party measures by the power of party.

The author presents a deplorable picture of republicanism as it now exists among us: "The political history of the United States in the years since the war has been a long story of corruption and misconduct on the part of public officers" (p. 91). The chapter on "Party Influence, its Causes and Uses" deserves the most careful attention of every earnest seeker after a more perfected form of government. Mr. Stickney seems unusually free from party prejudices. How many will echo the sentiments of the following passage: "Take the proceedings of our national Legislature during the present administration: The party men on both sides have made it their chief work to search the past history of their opponents (bad enough it is for either), for the mere purpose of finding material to use for the next political campaign, as it is called." Here have been important questions of revenue and currency waiting solution, and still our legislators temporize. Many think the matter of civil service reform the one thing of importance to the country. "Upon that question

the party men on both sides are agreed to say all they can, and to do only what they must. On every point where the country needs action, the party men avoid action." If they should fail to act politically they might lose votes thereby. "Everything they do or say, everything that they leave undone or unsaid, has one purpose, the carrying the next election" (p. 121). "'Politics' may consist in the mere contest of party men for power and place. That, however, is not statesmanship" (p. 126).

The writer aptly remarks, that the system has become so corrupt that it is no longer a government where the people have the choice and control of their public servants, but successive party combinations have at last reduced it to a party oligarchy, which, through a process of engineering "Civil Service Reform," continually robs the people of a direct control of public officers and their work. He also satirizes the absurd economy of our legislators; who, in order to save a few millions, involve oftentimes the loss of as many hundred millions through the blunders of some poorly paid official, incompetent for his position. "There is never," he adds, "economy in poorly paid labor."

Mr. Stickney strongly condemns the "term system." "We must abolish the term system. \* \* \* We must destroy party. And to that end we must destroy the term system" (p. 168). It is difficult to see, however, how the affairs of the nation could be administered without parties. In speaking of competitive examination, the author says: "What we must have is, the competitive examination of actual service, \* \* \* the test of actual work. Have men enter the public service always at the bottom of the ladder, and compete in the special work they are to do. Let them prove themselves" (p. 165). "To interpret the laws as they are," he writes further on, "requires a life training." "We take men without any training at all, and dismiss them from the public service before they can gain even a little experience" (p. 175). And again: "The clearing out of all offices or of any one office at the end of four years or of one year, or for any cause, other than for inefficient service is most disastrous" (p. 197). "Any public officer, then, should be removed the instant he fails, for any reason whatever, to do his work in the most perfect manner. Hold him responsible, as men are elsewhere held responsible, not for good intentions (let them be used for their proper paving purposes), but for accomplishing results. Add to the list of crimes, for which public officers may be removed, the crime of failure" (p. 199).

The ideas embodied in his chapter on "The Legislature" are in the main sound, but we think he would give too enlarged powers to such a body of men. He places too much reliance on the wisdom of that assembly, should it become pitted against the Executive. As a whole, however, it is a strong chapter, and demands attentive reading.

In the ninth chapter, Mr. Stickney summarizes the conclusions

toward which the whole book tends. Many of his propositions have already been noticed ; the others must be examined at greater length than we have space to give them here.

We began the perusal of the volume with a bias not altogether favorable to the author, for in his introductory note he says : " This book is not the work of a scholar. It concerns matters which lie outside of my profession, and which I have never studied with thoroughness." Nevertheless, while his want of scholarship is sufficiently obvious—sometimes painfully so—he has won our confidence and respect by the vigorous way in which he handles his subject. He carries us down to the bottom of things ; nor does he leave us there, but points a way out. However, like all other ideal things, when put to the test of practical use his views may be found wanting. Perhaps we do the author injustice when we use the word " ideal," for there is nothing at all visionary in his suggestions and proposed amendments. The most perfect system of government, however, would soon become corrupt under the influence of the present tendency of the leaders of public opinion. Poor laws, wisely administered by honorable men, would be preferable to the best of laws in the hands of those actuated solely by a policy of personal aggrandizement.

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POLITICS.

*A Fool's Errand.* By ONE OF THE FOOLS. 12° pp. 361.  
New York : Fords, Howard and Hulbert. 1880.

ALTHOUGH cast in the form of a novel, *A Fool's Errand* is really political in its *motif* and mission, being the most valuable contribution yet made to the history of the " reconstruction " period in the south. In a narrative of absorbing interest, it relates the experience of a northern man in the south, where he had taken up his residence at the close of the war. At first he was received with a sort of cool courtesy, which ended, however, in ostracism, when it was known that Colonel Servosse—the " Fool"—had entertained on Thanksgiving six teachers, northern girls, who had heroically devoted themselves to the instruction of colored children. He was repeatedly warned to leave the country because of his opinions, but steadily pursued his course, interfering with no one, and allowing no one to interfere with him, although his life was several times attempted. One cannot be surprised that Jehu Brown, one of the few southern Union men, failed to understand this state of affairs. " I can't understan' it, Colonel. They say our side whipped ; that the Union won, and the Confederacy lost, and yit there they be a-puttin' on tu me like all possessed, day arter day, an' abusin' my wife an' children too bad for white

folks to hear about, jes cos I was a Union man. There must be some mistake, Colonel, about the matter. Either 't was t'other folks that surrendered at Appomattox, or else you an' I was on t' other side, an' hev jes been a-dreamin' that we was Yank an' Union all this time." (p. 157).

Were it not for the recent atrocities practised by "bull-dozers," and the enactment of the recent Chisholm tragedy, one would think that, in the history of the Ku-Klux Klan, the author was imposing upon the credulity of the reader, or writing a tale of the mediæval ages: "This new reign of terror had come so stilly and quietly upon the world that none realized its fearfulness and extent. At first it had been a thing of careless laughter to the great, free, unsuspecting north, then a matter of contemptuous ridicule, and finally a question of incredulous horror. Two things had contributed to this feeling: Those who had suffered, had, in the main, been humble people. The public press did not teem with their wrongs, because there were none to tell them. They were people, too, whose story of wrong had been so long in the ear of the public, that it was tired of the refrain. It had yielded very slowly and unwillingly, to the conviction that slavery was an evil, and the colored man too near akin to white humanity to be rightfully held in bondage, and subjected to another's will. It had slowly and doubtfully been brought to the point of interference therewith, on the ground of military necessity in the suppression of rebellion, and, after a grand struggle of conflicting ideas, had finally settled down to the belief that enfranchisement was all that was required to cure all the ills which hitherto had afflicted, or in the future might assail, the troublesome and pestiferous African. This had been granted. The conscience of the nation was satisfied, and it highly resolved that thereafter it should have peace; that the negro *could* have no further ground of complaint, and it would hear no further murmurs. So it stopped its ears, and, when the south wind brought the burden of woe, it shook its head blankly, and said, 'I hear nothing, nothing! All is peace.' But when the cries became so clamorous that they could not longer be ignored, the wise men appointed a committee who should investigate the matter and hear all that could be said *pro* and *con*. Oh! a strange, sad story is that, which fills the thirteen volumes of testimony, documents, and conclusions, reported by that committee; a strange commentary on Christian civilization; a strange history of peaceful years; bloody as the reign of Mary, barbarous as the chronicles of the Comanche! Of the slain there was enough to furnish forth a battle-field, and all from those three classes, the negro, the scalawag, and the carpet-bagger—all killed with deliberation, overwhelmed by numbers, roused from slumber at the murk midnight, in the hall of public assembly, upon the river-brink, on the lonely woods-road, in simulation of the public execution—shot, stabbed, hanged, drowned, mutilated beyond description, tortured beyond

conception. And almost by an unknown hand ! Only the terrible mysterious fact of *death* was certain. Accusation by secret denunciation ; sentence without hearing ; execution without warning, mercy, or appeal. In the deaths alone, terrible beyond utterance, but in the manner of death—the secret, intangible doom from which fate springs—more terrible still in the treachery which made the neighbor a disguised assassin, most horrible of all the feuds and hates which history portrays. And then the wounded,—those who escaped the harder fate—the whipped, the mangled, the bleeding, the torn ! men despoiled of manhood, women gravid with dead children ! bleeding backs ! broken limbs ! Ah ! the wounded in this silent warfare were more thousands than those who groaned on the slopes of Gettysburg ! Dwellings, and schools, and churches burned ! People driven from their homes, and dwelling in the woods and fields ! The poor, the weak, the despised, maltreated and persecuted—by whom ? Always the same intangible presence, the same invisible power. Well did it name itself ‘The Invisible Empire.’ Unseen and unknown ! In one State ten thousand, in another twenty thousand, in another forty thousand ; in all an army greater than the Rebellion, from the mouldering remains of which it sprung, could ever put into the field. An invisible empire, with a trained and disciplined army of masked midnight marauders, making war upon the weakling ‘powers’ which the wise men had set up in the lately rebellious territory ” (p. 225 *et seq*).

The narrative is vigorously written, and is clearly the work of one who writes from his own experience. The lights and shadows of southern life are depicted strongly ; and notwithstanding the many blood-curdling tragedies of which the “Fool” was cognizant, he endeavors to write fairly and impartially. He does not visit the blame for the existence and perpetuation of these stains on the escutcheon of the south too heavily upon the southern people, which he describes as generous, large-hearted, and sympathetic. The position of the south is unique. When one reflects that their slaves, which they regarded merely as chattels, have been not only liberated, but raised to political equality with themselves, solely through Federal intervention, one cannot marvel that the adjustment of internal relations to external relations has not been effected in two decades.

“The state of the newly enfranchised freedmen at the south,” the author says, “is most anomalous and remarkable. I cannot help regarding it with apprehension. There are but few cases in history of an enslaved race leaping at once from absolute chattelism to complete self-rule. Perhaps the case of the ancient Israelites affords the closest analogy. Yet in their case under divine guidance, two things were found necessary : First, an exodus which took them out from among the race which had been their masters, away from the scenes and surroundings of slavery ; and second, the growth of a new generation who [*sic*] had never known the lash of a

taskmaster, nor felt in their own persons the degradation of servitude. The flight from Egypt, the hardships of the wilderness, the forty years of death and growth away from and beyond the ken of the Egyptians, all were necessary to fit the children of Israel for self-government and the exercise of national power. Can the African slave of America develop into the self-governing citizen, the coördinate of his white brother in power, with less of preparation?" (p. 343).

The author regards reconstruction as a magnificent failure in so far as it attempted to unify the nation, and to make one people, in fact, of what before the convulsion of civil war had been one only in name. One does not need to read his book to reach this conclusion. And yet the mission of the north to the south was no fool's errand. That the general government, through the distractions of political factions at the north, has been made to play the fool in its method of reconstruction, is sufficiently obvious. Had the counsel of the leading statesmen of the north been heeded, the southern States would have been held as provinces until such time as they should be ready to accept the policy of the new Union—the Union as it is now, not the Union as it was, which had ceased to exist, in fact—and become affiliated with northern ideas and northern customs. This was the work of a half-century. The politicians, unfortunately, interfered with this magnificently wise and humane programme—a set of miserable self-seeking demagogues that live on public plunder and batten on their country's calamities—with what direful consequences this volume but too plainly shows. It is not unlikely that the "fight" will have to be renewed, for the work of equalizing the conditions of mankind—and civilizing mankind has no other meaning—must go forward. It is immanent in the ideal construction of society and must ultimately prevail. It is idle, therefore, to suppose that the interest of any section or class, north or south, is going permanently to suspend the divine order and course of things. Woe be to him or to them that stand in the way of this realization. The mills of the gods grind slow but they grind wondrous fine. It will be well for the south and for the north if southern statesmen—and northern statesmen—heed these things and mould the sentiments of their people conformably to the divine ideal of justice and equality. Should they neglect to do this work, somebody else will do it for them.

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## BELLES-LETTRES.

*Impressions of Theophrastus Such.* By GEORGE ELIOT. 12°  
pp. 234. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1879.

ONE can easily imagine the disappointment many of the admirers of George Eliot must feel in turning over the pages of *Theophrastus Such*. One's heart goes out for all these, not because the book is an inferior one, or lacking depth of interest, but because it does not equal in general interest the expectations which the announcement of a book from this felicitous author raises in the minds of the public. When one has prepared his palate for old Madeira, one is disappointed with Cognac, however choice it may be.

The volume consists of criticisms of men and things under the guise of fictitious or hypothetical names. Theophrastus Such appears to be a man susceptible to impressions which he deals out to the reader in a style very like the discourses of the Grecian sages of yore, which the author has creditably imitated. It is with difficulty that one can imagine the writer of these discourses to be a woman, and that woman, George Eliot ! The style is that of a learned man of the world, a keen-eyed old bachelor, with a cynical turn of mind, whose position is so far removed from contact with social life as to exempt him from sharing the foibles and frailties of the average mortal, while at the same time it enables him to observe with accuracy the defects and weaknesses of the throng which make up its warp and woof. The masculine disguise is well sustained throughout ; and while Theophrastus' impressions of this and that character are true to life, and his judgment as just as it is severe, they are too finely drawn and described to be entertaining to the lovers of fiction, who read more for amusement or pleasure than for profitable instruction.

It may be rejoined, however, that George Eliot does not write for fools, nor for a class of readers who read merely for amusement, and that it is not fair to test the excellence of her book by a standard lower than that which she herself has set up. Those who would find the precious metals must dig for them : they are rarely found on the surface. So it is with the precious things in the works of George Eliot, particularly in *Theophrastus Such*. There is no dearth of wisdom in its pages, but one must read with attention always to discover it. A few citations from Theophrastus' "Impressions" may not be uninteresting :

He justly complains of the habit of speaking ill of the present, while admiring the past : "All reverence and gratitude for the worthy dead," he writes, "on whose labors we have entered, all care for the future generations whose lot we are preparing ; but some affection and fairness for those who are doing the actual work of the world, some attempt to regard them with the same

freedom from ill-temper, whether on private or public grounds, as we may hope will be felt by those who will call us ancient ! Otherwise, the looking before and after, which is our grand human privilege, is in danger of turning to a sort of other-worldliness, breeding a more illogical indifference or bitterness than was ever bred by the ascetic's contemplation of heaven. Except on the ground of a primitive golden age and continuous degeneracy, I see no rational footing for scorning the whole present population of the globe, unless I scorn every previous generation from whom they have inherited their diseases of mind and body, and by consequence, scorn my own scorn, which is equally an inheritance of mixed ideas and feelings concocted for me in the boiling caldron of this universally contemptible life, and so on—scorning to infinity.

\* \* \* Hence this question of wishing to be rid of one's contemporaries associates itself with my filial feelings, and calls up the thoughts that I might as justifiably wish that I had had other parents than those whose loving tones are my earliest memory, and whose last parting first taught me the meaning of death" (p. 25 *et seq.*). Few of us are such poor logicians, when we seriously reflect on life and things, as not to be able to agree with Theophrastus, that the past is responsible for the present, having contained in latency all that is desirable and undesirable in the present.

The discourse on "Temper" does not deal with things so profound as the foregoing, but it is fuller of practical wisdom. "As people confess to bad memory," he observes, "without expecting to sink in mental reputation, so we hear a man declared to have a bad temper and yet glorified as the possessor of every high quality. When he errs or in any way commits himself, his temper is accused, not his character, and it is understood that but for a brutal, bearish mood he is kindness itself. If he kicks small animals, swears violently at a servant who mistakes orders, or is grossly rude to his wife, it is remarked apologetically that those things mean nothing—they are all temper." And again, in the same connection: "A pretty woman may fan the flame of distant adorers by harassing them, but if she lets one of them make her his wife, the point of view from which he will look at her poutings and tossings, and mysterious inability to be pleased, will be seriously altered. And if slavery to a pretty woman, which seems among the least conditional forms of abject service, will not bear too great a strain from her bad temper, even though her beauty remain the same, it is clear that a man whose claims lie on his high character or high performances had need impress us very constantly with his peculiar value and indispensableness, if he is to test our patience by an uncertainty of temper which leaves us absolutely without grounds for guessing how he will receive our persons or humbly advanced opinions, or what line he will take on any but the most momentous occasions" (pp. 83-84).

The most pungent, if not the keenest, criticism in the book may be found in the chapter on "Moral Swindlers." Theophrastus rebukes with keen irony the respectable rogues in Christian society—gamblers in stocks, organizers of "bonanzas," and "syndicates;" the sleek cheats who occupy the high-priced pews in the synagogues and churches; cunning purloiners of the funds of widows and orphans under the guise of profitable investments; keen-eyed men of business, who attend chapel-exercises punctiliously and say their prayers regularly, but who, nevertheless, insist that "business is business" when they get an advantage in deal; respectable men, who use their respectability as a means for business ends, and take advantage of ignorance and credulity to enrich themselves; truthful men and men of honor, who scorn to tell a lie, commit adultery, or violate any of the "Ten Commandments" but who, notwithstanding, do not scruple to deceive in business transactions, profit by their neighbors' misfortunes, and take a so-called *fair* advantage in trade—whose policy in business affairs, moreover, is such as to reduce thousands of their fellow men and women to conditions of life which compel *them* to commit the crimes which they, the aforesaid men of honor, stand aghast at; proper people, who respect the conventionalities—the letter of the law while violating its spirit and purpose—who, in other words, do not hesitate to sin against the sanctities of domestic life, while they are horrified at any radical and unconventional suggestion that would protect and preserve them, such as divorce between the ill-mated, for example, and who would fall into adultery a thousand times, rather than be guilty of a single divorce—all these species of would-be moral men and women, who perhaps fail to be moral by reason of possessing a narrow sense of ethical relations, are classed by Theophrastus under the general sobriquet of "moral swindlers." "It is a familiar example of irony in the degradation of words," he says, "that 'what a man is worth' has come to mean, how much money he possesses; but there seems a deeper and more melancholy irony in the shrunken meaning that popular or polite speech assigns to 'morality' and 'morals'" (p. 182). And he goes on to complain of the confusion of ideas, so common in the public mind, which confounds morality with the vulgar vices, and gives a name for virtue and respectability to any man who is free from them, but whose conduct of public and business affairs is such as to bring ruin and misery upon others while munificently providing for his own. "I find even respectable historians of our own and foreign countries," he says, "after showing that a king was treacherous, rapacious, and ready to sanction gross breaches in the administration of justice, end by praising him for his pure moral character, by which one must suppose them to mean that he was not lewd nor debauched, not the European twin of the typical Indian potentate whom Macaulay describes as passing his life in chewing bang and fondling dancing-girls. And since we

are sometimes told of such maleficent kings that they were religious, we arrive at the curious result that the most serious wide-reaching duties of man lie quite outside morality and religion—the one of these consisting in not keeping mistresses (and perhaps not drinking too much), and the other in certain ritual and spiritual transactions with God, which can be carried on equally well, side by side with the basest conduct toward men" (pp. 184-5).

The author insists that "to rob words of half their meaning, while they retain their dignity as qualifications, is like allowing to men who have lost half their faculties the same high and perilous command which they won in their time of vigor; or like selling food and seeds after fraudulently abstracting their virtues: in each case what ought to be beneficently strong is fatally enfeebled, if not empoisoned" (p. 187). And he rightly observes that "the informal definitions of popular language are the only medium through which theory really affects the mass of minds, even among the nominally educated; and when a man whose business hours, the solid part of every day, are spent in an unscrupulous course of public or private action which has every calculable chance of causing wide-spread injury and misery, can be called moral because he comes home to dine with his wife and children and cherishes the happiness of his own hearth, the augury is not good for the use of high ethical and theological disputation" (pp. 186-7). The leaders of Christian sentiment are not prepared, we fear, to accept the moral distinctions of Mr. Theophrastus Such. Tried by his fine tests, most men and women would be found wanting in the first elements of good character.

But we must reluctantly forego the pleasure of further company with this volume. It is like a delectable morsel which one would gladly retain. The author's ideas sparkle with originality, and her rhetoric flows on and on as smoothly as a river, and in sentences nearly as long. Her knowledge of human nature is equalled by her powers of dissection and analysis—two possessions of her mental laboratory which must always render what she has to say worth saying and listening to.

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*Lessons from my Masters:* Carlyle, Tennyson and Ruskin.

By PETER BAYNE, M. A., LL. D. 12° pp. 449. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

WHATEVER Mr. Bayne writes is always interesting, while his previous essays in criticism have given him such eminence that his literary opinions come to us now with somewhat of weight and authority. In this his latest work he chooses three fascinating subjects and treats them with keen insight, fine feeling, and broad

catholicity of spirit. His old peculiarities still cling to him, growing stronger as his powers increase; but this is not wholly to be regretted, since they stamp him with an individuality which has considerable value in his work. We cannot, by any means, always agree with him. He is sometimes too dogmatic, at times Quixotic, and, again, occasionally falls away from the high standard which he has set for himself. But his positiveness does good service in arousing our antagonism, and forcing us to formulate our own belief and search out the reasons for it. It is one of his most valuable characteristics, that he is eminently suggestive and stimulative.

Of the three essays in this book, that on Carlyle is the most important, since he is the one from whom our age has drifted the farthest and who is the most readily misunderstood. The essay will prove very helpful to all who are entering upon the study of Carlyle, it being a faithful guide, a skilful interpreter, and, in the main, a just defender. We say *in the main*, for as we read some passages, we almost imagine we can hear the fierce snort of the old Sage of Chelsea. It is always dangerous to attempt to champion Carlyle. We do not remember that he has ever yet thanked any one for defending him. In his own eyes it is somewhat like the laying hold of the ark when it appeared to topple. The men who did that perished.

Prof. Masson says there has been in Carlyle's life an element of soldierly arrangement, and Mr. Bayne's essay shows us that this is a true saying. Unable to be trammelled by the ministry, Carlyle early chose the literary career as the freest, widest and most influential. That he did so with his eyes open to all its burdens and disadvantages, plainly appears from his description, really marvellous in one so young, of "The Man of Letters" in his earliest work, the *Life of Schiller*. His own youth, dreamy, contemplative, full of stormy emotions, sublime wonderings, fierce antagonism to the grovelling life of his times—this is portrayed in *Sartor Resartus*; for doubtless the story of Teufelsdröckh is largely an autobiography. This work, the first after he had served his apprenticeship to literature, contains in full all the powers which he has since displayed, all the essential facts of his spiritual history, all the fundamental principles of his philosophy. It is the work, too, which has brought against him the charge of pantheism; yet it is, we believe, the very work which most fully disproves that charge. John Sterling, indeed, Carlyle's true and close friend, urges the accusation, and even goes so far as to say that Teufelsdröckh "does not believe in a God." There can be no doubt, unfortunately, that Carlyle too often toys with pantheism, and seems at times almost ready to embrace it; that he is sometimes fatally confused in discussing good and evil; that in one passage, indeed, he does actually insist on the good of evil, although he had previously, in language nobly intense, portrayed good and evil as irreconcilable and

eternal opposites. There can be no doubt that his works often display a vagueness and an incoherence on the subject of God, and that they make an abundant use of His name without a sufficiently clear recognition of Him as a living personal power. Yet Carlyle's central doctrine is man's responsibility to God. He teaches that the moral conscience is God dwelling in us, and he says that "the one end, essence, and use of all religion, past, present and to come, is this only: to keep this same moral conscience or inner light of ours alive and shining." And there is another passage, clearer still, where he asserts that Mohammedanism, beside the idolatries of its time, was a true message from heaven: "'Allah akbar, God is great'. Understand that his will is the best for you; that howsoever sore to flesh and blood, you will find it the wisest, best; you are bound to take it so; in this world and in the next, you have no other thing that you can do!"

In the *History of the French Revolution*, which follows next, the doctrines of *Sartor Resartus* are found applied to actual events. Here we see displayed in a most awful manner the Carlylean truths, that the life of institutions is the spirit they contain, and when the spirit is gone the body must perish; and that logical theorizing about society is of little avail as a practical power. Here, too, we meet constantly with that deep sense of the mystery of things which is one of Carlyle's strongest characteristics. Carlyle contemplated the French Revolution as a poet or an artist, and not strictly as a historian. The result is a work totally unlike any other history ever written. It is "a great and memorable book"; a book of fascinating horror; a book of earthquakes, avalanches and cataclysms; a book in which the thunder and the lightning sound and dance to peals of demoniac laughter. It is a book eminently Calvinistic—Hebraic; announcing the wrath of God with all the confidence of a Hebrew prophet, and hymning the terrible swoops of His outstretched arm with all the grim gladness of a Hebrew poet. The English language has never carried greater stress and strain than in this work. The very titles of its three divisions: "The Bastile," "The Constitution," "The Guillotine"; and of its chapters, also: "Inertia," "To arms!" "Storm and Victory," "Conquering your King," "The Lanterne," are each a history in themselves, packed full of suffering, crammed full of horrors. And as the titles, so are the chapters. "There is nothing in Homer," says Mr. Bayne, "more stirring than the chapter on the fall of the Bastile." In description of person, in delineation of character, the work is unsurpassed. There is nothing to be compared to it, save those electrifying illuminations which Victor Hugo flashes upon a subject with every stroke of his pen.

When Carlyle put forth his next writings, the change which ever since has been deepening and growing sadder had evidently begun. *Chartism*, and *Heroes and Hero-Worship* were written in the flush and vigor of youth, when their great author could yet

hail with pleasure the triumphant strides of invention and mechanical development, and had not foreseen their crushing effect on the spiritual growth of England. Still, he had already lost faith in the extension of suffrage and the use of the ballot. From much of the teaching conveyed by the *Heroes and Hero-Worship*—doubtless the most popular of Carlyle's works—Mr. Bayne records his emphatic dissent in words well worthy of attention. "He is above thee like a god," says Carlyle, of a hero; "he is thy born king, thy conqueror and supreme law-giver." "I decline such hero-worship," replies Mr. Bayne. "It is practically and intensely pernicious. In politics it leads, as I said, to the consecration of despotism, to inhuman scorn of the multitude. In ethics, it is easily perverse of equity and righteousness. \* \* \* The sole title to respect is moral excellence; and the sole tenable definition of moral excellence is exertion of the will in unselfish goodness. But the irresistible tendency of hero-worship is to do injustice to the nobleness of common men, to the honest efforts of weak men, to virtues that have no brilliancy in them though they are of sterling quality, and to slur over or make light of the vices and crimes of the gifted. The course pursued ought to be exactly the reverse. The weak ought to be excused rather than the strong. The failings of men of genius—of a Mirabeau, a Danton, a Burns—are more blameworthy on account of their gifts. *Because* a man has been splendidly endowed, the more sacredly incumbent upon him is it to make good use of his gifts, to guard against temptation, to control passion. Mental power is the natural ally of virtue, and ought to reinforce instead of betraying it; and the man of splendid endowments is a light set on a hill, and therefore more responsible than the crowd." Noble words, fitly spoken; and never have they been more needed than at this very day. When the disease of undue hero-worship falls upon a man, it affects all his future life; nor could Carlyle, himself, escape its influence. One of the most interesting passages in Mr. Bayne's essay is that in which he traces the evil effects of this error in all of Carlyle's subsequent writings. The defect is really obtrusive throughout his *Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell*, which is otherwise a great and noble work, one in which the author displayed a gift for portraying battles which almost rivals that of Homer.

But the writing of this work had an evil influence on the man. The change in his temper, in his point of vision, now became marked. Studying the character and times of Cromwell had proved dangerous to one of Carlyle's nature. Fault-finding, bitterness, harsh uncharitableness grew powerful within him. The *Latter-Day Pamphlets* show a decline both in mental and moral tone. His mannerism becomes annoying; his humor grows coarse; "the vehemence has now become almost spasmodic, and the 'green oases by the palm-tree wells,' the spaces of repose and chastened and genial beauty, have become far less frequent than formerly."

The *Pamphlets* became "a fountain of speculative and practical Toryism," although Mr. Bayne finds in them some of the fundamental principles on which rational and constructive Liberalism rests. In the *Pamphlets* Carlyle poured out his scorching scorn upon John Howard and the philanthropists, dismissing them at last, after the castigation, with the bitter contempt—"You may go down!" Here, too, he taught one of his most dangerous fallacies, that intellectual stupidity is equivalent to moral delinquency.

The *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, however, taken in connection with the *Life of John Sterling*, which appeared soon after, have their greatest value for us in that they evince what Carlyle's solution of the religious problems of his time would be. He considers Loyola to be the type and embodiment of all that is supremely wrong in religion. Yet Protestants, as well as Roman Catholics, have to drink the fiery draught of his indignation, for "the genius of mankind," he says, "has been dominated by the Gospel of Ignatius." He charges Protestants with not daring to disbelieve what is incredible, and with clinging to symbols after they have become obsolete—with making more of the symbols than of "the God Almighty's facts they symbolized." In this he displays the same spirit and temper that permeated *Sartor Resartus*, where he applies them to political institutions; and in both cases, unfortunately, there is far too much ground for his accusations. But Carlyle spends so much time in iconoclasm that he has none left for explaining what he would have us believe. As nearly as can be ascertained, he would have us return to a sort of natural religion. Yet, after all, there can be little doubt that in this work, as in *Sartor Resartus*, his chief doctrine is responsibility to God. He wants, he cries, "what Novalis calls 'God, Freedom, Immortality.' " He indignantly asserts that the clergy are not the interpreters of God's will. Like Goethe, he believes that Christianity is the supreme religion, and that the race cannot recede from it, yet he is always bitterly contemptuous of those writers who defend the Christian religion. Having refused to enter the ministry himself, he afterward successfully employed his influence to withdraw John Sterling from it. Carlyle insists that no faith can be sincere unless it is unfaltering—a most painful saying, and, fortunately, untrue. Doubt, in some form or other, is the inevitable lot of most who think as well as feel, and of all who deeply think.

Carlyle's last great work was the *Life of Frederick of Prussia*. The plan of the work, says Mr. Bayne, like that of the battle of Marengo, could have been justified only by success. It is audacity run wild—a total disregard of all literary conventionalities, of all the reasonable expectations of readers. After opening with a wonderfully bold and graphic description of Frederick at three-score, he springs back to Frederick's babyhood, takes us to the cradle and the christening, and then deliberately hurls at us three volumes of European history, beginning three centuries before

Christ. The reader first looks on with amazement, not unmixed with indignation, gradually becomes interested, then fascinated, and finally allows not a word to escape his spellbound vision. The display of literary skill and adroitness is astonishing. But the sentiments of the work are sorely disappointing to those who have thus far found Carlyle the apostle of honesty and the relentless enemy of wrong-doing. He seems now to teach that a truthful man is an effective man; one who knows how to succeed. If in this we misjudge him, there is, unfortunately, no room for doubt that he has very far lost sight of his old ideal of true heroism. Hitherto, or until his *Cromwell*, he has been in sympathy with spiritual worth and purity, and with the grand principles of true political progress. But now he has lost faith in humanity—there is but one line of division: some men are born to rule, and all others are born to obey. On this principle he has written the life of Frederick, and it follows that his admiration is called forth by a much lower order of success than he formerly demanded. It must be said, however, that the lies which he palliates are always told in the public interest, and not for selfish purposes, and that the sword he honors was drawn in behalf of a great people. Yet he has become almost a Jesuit, in believing that the end justifies the means. The execution of Lieutenant Katte by Frederick William does not shock him. Evidently, it is the law of Heaven that the life of a subject should be at the arbitrary disposal of his king. Still worse is the biographer's defence of the Tobacco Parliament. He forgets his old reverence for "Men of Letters," and now agrees with Frederick William that they are "generally pedants and mere men of wind," and he has no indignation for the way they were treated by this crowned savage. Even more by his defence of the seizure of Silesia, did Carlyle alienate the confidence with which people had so long followed his guidance. "Friedrich," he says, "after such trial and proof as was seldom seen, got his claims on Schlesien allowed by the Destinies." We believe this is untrue; but, even should it prove in the end to be true, that will not justify the act. "The destinies," says Mr. Bayne, and his words are full of meaning for our own day, "even if written with a big D, cannot make right wrong, though they crown it with success, and though the success endures for a thousand years. Success has nothing whatever to do in the spiritual sphere."

It remains to speak a word on Carlyle's literary style. As for his use of English, reading him is much like riding over frozen ploughed ground in a springless cart. It has the good effect of stirring the circulation, at least, even if it induces headache. We must constantly wrestle with such adjectives as "rotatory-changeful," "elegiac-applausive," "suppressed-explosive." Perhaps he ought to have been a poet, since he surely has the intellectual and emotional temperament of the seer. But as he elected prose, he certainly had the right, being a genius and a creator, to use it

in the way best adapted to his needs. It is evident that, during the writing of his great works, he was under the influence of Richter, and the etymological and rhetorical vagaries of "Der Einzige" are fully matched in them. He does not, however, like Richter, ever allow his whirlwind of words to run away with him; he always rides on the storm, guiding it towards its object with masterful and unerring hand. And often the storm is suddenly reined in; the sunlight laughs for a moment among the waters, and the flowers look up fresh and lovable; or while the Bastille is tumbling, "the evening sun of July" slants its beams on reapers amidst peaceful woody fields, on ships far out in the silent main, "and also on this roaring hell-porch of a Hôtel de Ville!" Very noticeable is his humor, especially in the *French Revolution*. We all know M. Taine's opinion of it—that it is "Gothic horse-play." It is impossible that the French should appreciate Carlyle. And truly, his roars of laughter in the midst of blood and death-shrieks have something very satanic about them. Yet, if we look deeply beneath the outward ebullition, we discover that it arises, strange as it may seem to us, from an awful sense of the mystery of life and an implicit, Hebraic confidence in the justice of God's judgments. His style, in all its elements, is wholly his own; he created it; it is himself; he talks precisely as he writes. The more we admire it in him, however, the less willing are we to endure it in another. We hail it as a new gift to the world; but we have had enough of it.

We have left no space to speak of the essays on Tennyson and Turner. While Mr. Bayne, we think, achieves here a smaller measure of success, he yet offers much that is enlightening and helpful in our study of their creations. The entire volume is worthy of careful reading, with the works of the three "masters" lying open before us.

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*Studies of the Greek Poets.* By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.  
2 vols. 12° pp. 489, 419. New York: Harper and Brothers.  
1880.

Two volumes more charming than these have seldom come to our notice. Mr. Symonds' critical ability and elegance of style are now well known and appreciated, so that he is sure, when making a fresh venture, of an expectant and sympathetic audience. The present work is wellnigh faultless in execution, the only exceptions being one or two instances of diffuseness, and occasionally a little too much of rhetorical flourish. He is evidently a profound student of Greek literature; his "studies" are independent; and his judgments are usually entirely his own. Difficult as is the task, where so much has been previously written, he

actually succeeds in displaying considerable originality, and it is when he is the most original that he is the most pleasing.

It has been customary to divide the history of Greek literature into three great periods, following the natural divisions of Greek political history; but Mr. Symonds prefers to break up the first and last of these, making five in all, and thus attaining a greater degree of accuracy. The first of the five—the heroic or legendary—ends with the first Olympiad, B. C. 776. This period is full of the great name of Homer, from whose poems alone can we obtain any true idea of prehistoric Hellas. It is the era of the *Διογενεῖς*, the God-born kings. There is still a perfect belief in the gods. They live among men, and are like men. It is the age of simplicity, both in life and faith. Of this age the Homeric poems are a flawless mirror. Although kings ruled by divine right, since they were born of the gods—yet their subjects acknowledged them only so long as they were superior in wealth, bravery and wisdom; only so long indeed, as, according to the Greek idea, they were fitted to rule. Moreover, there was much democracy of a rude, simple kind. As on earth, so in Olympus: Zeus is king of gods only because he wields the thunder. The masses are counted as nothing. All grandeur, all interest, crystallizes around a few heroes. Thus it is an age of types, and Achilles and Ulysses symbolize and embody the ideal of Greek character, an ideal which the Greeks never outgrew. Achilles, indeed, dominates the entire literature and history of Greece. The Greeks always looked back to him as the image of their nation in its youthfulness. By his intense personality, his fierce passions guided by the gods, his courage, his chivalric friendship, and especially by his sublime death *while yet young*, the Hellenic nature was fascinated and satisfied. The *Iliad* revolves around Achilles. In all other great narrative epics, the centralization of interest is in one supreme event or series of events; in the *Iliad* alone it is in the passions and career of one man. But the *Iliad* is simply an episode in the war of Troy—a chapter in the life of the son of Peleus. Dante seized its spirit when he wrote:

“Achille,

Che per amore al fine combatteo.”

And all this was very real and true to Homer. The mythus of the *Iliad* may be founded on the solar theory, but it is absurd to think that Homer was conscious of giving utterance to any astronomical idea when he sang “the wrath of Achilles.” We say *Homer*; for we agree with Mr. Symonds that while it is foolish to hold that there were no previous ballads and well-digested body of myths on which the poet built, it is an equally untenable hypothesis that there never was a Homer, but rather that some diaskeuast of the time of Pisistratus compiled the immortal work. The *Iliad* gives indisputable evidence of the hand of a conscious supreme artist. Greek art, to be sure, exists here as a mere potentiality,

and doubtless its portrayals are really a forecast of the future. The sense of beauty outran the skill of hand. No man in those days could actually have made the wonderful shield of Achilles.

It is to be noted that fraternity in arms played for the Greek race the same part as the love of women for mediæval Europe—that friendship between men was the Greek chivalry. Not Greek mythology alone, but Greek history also, is replete with examples. "Tyrants," said Plato, "stand in awe of friends." Achilles was the great prototype of all friendship, and for this reason he was the less appreciated in the Middle Ages, on the revival of learning; while Hector became the popular hero of feudal society because of his devotion to Andromache—because his love was the idealization of womanhood. Mr. Symonds' chapter on "The Women of Homer" is one of the most original and fascinating in the work. He shows us that in Helen is seen the indestructible Hellenic spirit, the ideal of beauty, unqualified by moral attributes; ever virginal and ever fair, yet still the slave of Aphrodite. With fine skill he compares the various ways in which Helen is treated by the various poets. Her charm in Homer is greatly due to the *naïveté* of the poet's art; she is always natural, and the ethical, though not always wanting, is never suffered to impair the influence of her beauty. "She is not touched by the passion she inspires, or by the wreck of empires ruined in her cause. Fate deflours her not, nor do years impair the magic of her charm. Like beauty, she belongs alike to all and none. She is not judged as wives or mothers are, though she is both; to her belong soul-wounding blossoms of inexorable love, as well as pain-healing poppy-heads of oblivion; all eyes are blinded by the adorable, incomparable grace which Aphrodite sheds around her form." But Stesichorus boldly laid upon her all the suffering of the war, and for this the gods smote him with blindness; nor was he restored until he had retracted:

ὃλ' ἔστ' ἔτρυμ' λόγον ὄτοτ',  
ὃδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν εὐσέλμοις,  
ὃδ' ἔκρο πέριγ' ἄρ' ἔτρυμ' Τροίης;

"Not true is that tale; nor didst thou journey in benched ships, or come to towers of Troy." The poor fellow saw no way out of it, but to deny that she had the remotest connection with the affair. Plato hints that even Homer's blindness was a punishment for the slight fault he found with her. It is this feeling that makes it clearly evident that Helen was, to the Greeks, the symbol of perfect beauty, the holiest of all things to them. It was left to the Roman poet—far off from her influence—to speak of her as *Troia et patriæ communis Erinnyis*—"Troy's and Argos' common fiend."

Yet the Greeks themselves outgrew the charm, and were not punished for it. Æschylus plays bitterly upon her name, calling her ἐλένωρ, ἐλάνθορ, ἐλέπτολς—"a hell of ships, hell of men,

hell of cities." It is not known how Sophocles dealt with Helen, but probably he advanced beyond the conception of Æschylus, and gave her character a most profound analysis. Euripides went still further and dragged her down to the level of common life. But the marvellous influence of Homer is seen in the fact that, despite all these damaging attempts, the romance of Helen recovered from the rude analysis and prosaic rationalism of the late drama, and the sculptors and painters returned to the Homeric ideal. We must add that, besides Achilles and Helen, Ulysses is also a Greek type, "stern in action, ruthless in his hatred, pitiless in his hostility, subtle, vengeful, cunning; yet at the same time the most adventurous of men, the most persuasive in eloquence, the wisest in council, the bravest and coolest in danger."

This first period was also the mythopœic age, and Herodotus says that "Homer and Hesiod named the gods, and settled their genealogies for the Hellenes." Mr. Symonds' chapter on "Mythology" is a contribution of value to the discussion of this much-veiled subject. With masterly scholarship and with usually sound logic, he treats the various methods current among scholars of explaining the Greek mythology, and finally rejects them all. Neither the position of Grote, that the myths are a jungle of inexplicable stories, arising from the play of an irrational fancy; nor the uncritical opinion that they are a degradation of the primitive truth revealed by God to the Hebrews; nor the theory that they were invented by priests and sages, to convey deep mysterious doctrines to the popular mind; nor the rationalistic hypothesis, that each myth had historical foundation in fact; neither the fetish theory, moreover, nor yet the famous and prevalent linguistic theory of Müller is considered by Mr. Symonds to be tenable. In place of these he advances the following propositions: All that was needed for the growth of myths was creative mind on the one side and receptive and believing mind on the other. The logical faculty was in abeyance, the critical faculty had not been aroused. The people possessed a faculty which is called mythopœic, and the operation of this faculty was similar to that of the poetic, guided by the imagination much more than by the understanding. The tendency to personification arose from the instinct of uncivilized humanity to attribute to external objects a consciousness like that by which men are governed. "The Greeks created divine personalities. Many myths contain moral and philosophical ideas conveyed in parables, and some of them have indubitable reference to real events and persons. But in no case of a primitive and genuine mythus are we to expect deliberate fiction or conscious symbolism, or, again, to seek for a discoverable substratum of solid fact. Entering the sphere of mythology, facts become etherialized into fancies, the actual value of which lies in the expression of the national mind, so that mythical and spiritual are in this respect synonymous. To use a metaphor, a myth is a Brocken-spectre of the thought which

produced it, and owes the features by which we can distinguish it to the specific character of the people among whom it sprang into existence." Then follows a picture of the mythopœic faculty operating in the historic period—evolving the tales of Arthur, Charlemagne, Tannhäuser, Don Juan, Faust, and the Lives of the Saints—which is one of the most interesting passages in the work. In tracing the Greek intelligence employed upon the articulation of its mythology, and next upon its criticism, the author can be followed with less of that uncomfortable suspicion which possesses us when reading the labors of the more erudite Müller on the same theme.

The second period in Greek literature is one of transition. In place of the god-born kings are the Tyrants. It is the age of colonization, of the *Nomothetæ*, and of the emergence of the Dorians and the Ionians. Hesiod is the link between the two periods. The gods and the heroes are no longer sung. The toils and feelings of the common people are the theme of the poet. With Hesiod the epic impulse ceases. The national ear demands more varied forms of verse than the hexameter. The Ionians were developing "the pathetic melody of the elegiac metre," and by the side of this arose the various forms of lyric poetry. Philosophy appears, and prose begins to be elaborated, though with infinite difficulty. This period extends to 477 B. C., the date of the Athenian league.

The third period embraces the supremacy of Athens from the end of the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, and its literary history is the history of Athens. The colonies are no longer heard of; literature, art and politics centre in Athens. The Parthenon, the Propylæa, the statues of Athene and Olympian Zeus, and the marble Nemesis at Marathon, all are the offspring of this age. Poetry, too, reaches its full height—Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes flourish. The histories of Herodotus, the lyrics of Pindar, the eloquence of Pericles, and the wit of Aspasia, belong to this period. The fourth ends with the death of Alexander. As the second epoch was one of transition from adolescence to maturity, so this is transitional from maturity to old age. Its chief sign of weakness is seen in Greek politics. Nevertheless, the real force of the Greek race is by no means exhausted. It is the age of Alexander; Asia and Egypt are Hellenized; the Greek spirit, though less productive, is still vigorous. Great names still appear: Aristotle, Æschines, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Menander. Logic, rhetoric, and the new comedy are in bloom. Especially is there a great development of orchestral music, and vast symphonies are performed at the Macedonian court. All this is because it is no longer an age of creativeness, but of intellectual reflectiveness. The fifth and longest period, extending to the extinction of classical civilization, is one of decline and decay, though these words must be used with qualification when spoken of the Greeks. Greece becomes

less a nation than an intellectual commonwealth. This spiritual republic prepares the way for Christianity : Greek culture in its decadence becomes the heritage of the whole world. The only true poets are the Sicilian idyllists. The art glows with beauty, but it is the sunset hue, or the hectic flush of disease. Alexandria, Rome, Byzantium, each in turn is the literary centre. On the whole, this period of six centuries is sterile in productiveness and inferior in the quality of its work. The genius of Hellas is still subtle and beautiful, because it is still Greek ; it insinuates itself into the religion of Christ, but is finally absorbed or extinguished by it. " Yet even in this last dire struggle of the spirit of Pagan art with the spirit of Christian faith, when beauty had become an abomination in the eyes of the Holiest, on the ruins, as it were, of the desecrated fanes of Hellas, weeds lovely in their rankness flourished. While Cyril's mobs were dismembering Hypatia, the erotic novelists went on writing about Daphnis, and Musæus sang the lamentable death of Leander. Nonnus was perfecting a new and more polished form of the hexameter. These were the last notes of Greek poetry. In these faint and too melodious strains the Muse took final farewell of her beloved Hellas. And when, after the lapse of a thousand years, the world awoke upon the ruins of the past, these were among the first melodies which caught its ear."

The fascination which the perusal of these volumes gives grows upon one to the end. Mr. Symonds' treatment of each poet is rapid, yet critical and sympathetic. His keenness of insight, his vividness in the delineation of character, his success in searching out mysterious *motifs*, his brilliant power of analysis, his happy faculty of setting before us the works of the poets in their very *milieu*, combine to place his studies in the front rank of all similar attempts to render to our age the life and spirit of ancient Hellas.

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*Pictures from Bible Lands*, drawn with Pen and Pencil.

Edited by SAMUEL G. GREEN, D.D. Imperial 4° pp.

203. New York : Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1879.

THE lands of the Bible form a theme of perennial interest, —an interest, too, that is ever increasing, since not only does the devotee turn his eyes thither with reverent curiosity, but now science, history, and philology are employed far more than ever in searching the East, and bringing from its rich ruins treasures invaluable to the modern world. While the wants of scholars are supplied by such volumes as the *Records of the Past*—and the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, the demands of those who are not special students are gratified by books of a lighter and more popular cast.

To the latter class belongs the present work. The volume is intended as a companion to *Those Holy Fields* and the *Land of the Pharaohs*, and consequently neither Palestine nor Egypt are included in the author's itinerary. The delineation begins with Damascus, naturally enough, as being "the oldest city in the world," and with the neighboring country of Lebanon. Then follow the Hauran and the land beyond Jordan; Northern Syria, Cyprus and Asia Minor; Ararat, Babylon, Nineveh; and "the Isles of the Gentiles." When we consider that under the last heading Greece is included, we can readily see how fascinating and absorbing are the themes which this volume presents to us. By implication, and often by actual description, it follows the history of the human race from its cradle in "the land of Ararat" to the country of its highest intellectual development. It considers, in its pages, the grandest monuments of antiquity. It leads us back to the Fatherland of us all, and with praiseworthy skill brings the lives of those remote ancestors vividly before us. The style is easy, graphic, lively—as becomes such a record. There are no dull moralizings; no descending into a coarse humor on the one hand, or attempts at grandiose effect on the other. The book is not "popular" in any invidious sense. The works of great scholars are freely drawn on, the foot-notes and references are full and stimulative, and there is much of profane, as well as sacred, history woven into its pages.

The illustrations deserve special notice. They are not only profuse, but they are truly illustrative; and many of them are remarkably fine examples of the engraver's art.

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*A Short History of German Literature.* By PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. Second Edition. 12° pp. 628. St. Louis: G. I. Jones and Company. 1879.

OUR opinion of Prof. Hosmer's work was expressed in the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW for April, 1879, and we rejoice to see that both the prophecy and the desire, to which we then gave utterance, have so soon been fulfilled. For a second edition has been demanded within less than a year of the original issue, and this edition has been furnished with a most admirable analytical index—a model of its kind. In other ways, also, the work is much improved; a few errors, especially, which crept into the first edition, having been corrected. We cannot again discuss the many merits of the volume; but it is a simple duty as well as a pleasure, to direct special attention to the appendix, in which the author replies to some pungent critics, notably to the venerable and learned Dr. Hedge. It is not so much the matter here contained, though that is important, but it is the very

praiseworthy manner of the author's defence, which we admire. Though confident in his strength, and amply sustained by his citations and evidence; though sturdy and unyielding in his positions—the writer conducts his defence with perfect courtesy and amiability. We commend all aggrieved authors to a careful perusal of Prof. Hosmer's reply to his critics.

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*Songs of the Soul*, Gathered out of many Lands and Ages.  
By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. 12° pp. 661. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1880.

THE entire literature of the world does not present a richer field than the poetic breathings of religious souls. No one but the Christian can understand how the spirit, in joy or grief, in victory or defeat, in resignation or triumph, turns instinctively to express its moods in song. Yet, as these feelings are the deepest, loftiest and most tragic in human nature—as they arise from contemplation or experience of the sublimest laws of life—it is surely but natural that the soul should seek to express them, or find them expressed, in the most impassioned form of speech. Certain it is, that in all times the hymn-book, in some form or other, has been inseparably interwoven with the sacred writings of every people. This is especially true among the followers of Christ, where it is safe to say that the poets have shed more light on the dark places, and revealed more of the mysteries, of the Bible than all the commentators have done. In no religion has the hymnology been so full and rich; in none has the service of song performed so important a part, both in public and private worship.

Among the innumerable collections of religious poems, Dr. Prime's *Songs of the Soul* has already taken high rank, and we are glad to welcome a new edition, reduced both in size and price, and thus made more available for use. A reëxamination of its pages—long familiar to us—serves only to strengthen our admiration of the taste, skill and feeling with which the compilation has been made. The opening and closing selections are poems of rare power and beauty—the first place being given to Derzhavin's lofty and intense verses on *God*, while the last two poems are the ecstatic *Celestial Country* of Bernard of Clugny, and *Mother Dear, Jerusalem*.

In the leading divisions of the work, in choice of themes and of representative hymns, there is an equal display of purified religious taste and trained literary judgment. Nearly all ages, nations and sects are here represented, while nothing has a place which does not appeal to every aspiring soul—the world over. We have but to remember that Allah means God, to find a noble

Christian poem even in *The Answer* of Dscheladeddin, the Persian. What Christian poet, indeed, has given us any thing better than its closing lines—

“ Every inmost aspiration is God’s angel undefiled ;  
And in every ‘ O my Father ’ slumbers deep a ‘ Here, my child ! ’ ”

All moods are found here, too, except despair and rebellion. The hymns range in spirit from the agony of Timrod’s *A Mother’s Wail* to the tender resignation of Whittier’s *Angel of Patience* and the complete submission of Sturm’s *God’s Anvil*.

Personal taste, and still more, personal spiritual experience, will have, of course, a strong voice in individual judgments of such a work. Yet we believe there is no collection which will be more widely acceptable ; none which will produce less disappointment and more satisfaction than this one. Dr. Prime evidently had not our own taste *constantly* in view, or he would have found a better translation of *That Great Day of Wrath and Terror* than Neale’s, which is very poor English poetry ; and a better rendering of *Hildebert’s Hymn* than Benedict’s ; while we would have preferred Sir Walter Scott’s or Gen. Dix’s *Dies Irae* to that of Edward Slosson. Occasionally a poem, whose authorship is well known, as *I am far frae my hame*, is unsigned, while Derzhavin’s name is not appended to the opening hymn.

This latter omission, indeed, may be an error in proof-reading, of which there are so many as to be inexcusable. For Derzhavin appears in the list of authors, but referred to page 31 instead of page 3 ; while Sir John Bowring’s name is signed to the hymn as translator, but is omitted from the list of translators. In this same list, Edward Caswall is not credited with the translation of Bernard’s *Jesu, dulcis memoria*, nor Mrs. Charles with that of Peter Damiani’s *Ad perennis vite fontem*, although their names appear, respectively, at the end of these poems. E. A. Washburne is allowed a final *e* in one place, but deprived of it in another. So valuable a book ought not to be thus marred.

#### FINANCE.

*Letters from Europe.* By HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, Philadelphia : Porter and Coates. 1879.

*Bi-Metallism.* By HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY. Reprint from *Penn Monthly* for December, 1879.

THE first of these pamphlets is a series of six letters to the Philadelphia *Times* while the author was on a vacation in Europe.

They are mainly devoted to the consideration of economic problems, especially the demonetization of silver.

The second pamphlet is an address read before the Bullion Club of New York, and treats exclusively of the silver question, as it is termed in this country. The author justly condemns the *à priori* method of reasoning upon economic problems generally, and this one in particular, and enters into a minute and interesting examination of the subject. He asserts that money is not a standard of value, in the strict sense of the word—which is true enough, since value is a relative term, and cannot, therefore, be measured like space or gravity. Money is a conventional standard of value; and since value may be defined as power in exchange with reference to all exchangeable commodities, it follows that the ideal standard should be something embodying the average proportion of all exchangeable commodities. This purely ideal conception of a standard of value being unattainable, the nearest practicable approach to it would be the nearest to perfection, and the nearest practicable approach to it is the selection and adoption of two or more of the least changeable commodities. Gold and silver are the two least changeable commodities and therefore furnish the best standard when used together and acting reciprocally on each other. If there were still another metal otherwise fitted for the purpose, then a triple standard would be even nearer perfection. Mr. Kelley's pamphlets are a useful contribution to the literature of the silver question, and will help to strengthen the convalescence of public opinion on this important subject.

## RECEIVED.

*The Constitutional and Political History of the United States.* By DR. H. VON HOLST. Translated from the German by JOHN J. LALOR and ALFRED B. MASON. 1750-1833. State Sovereignty and Slavery. 8° pp. 505. Chicago: Callaghan and Company. 1877.

*Great Authors of all Ages.* Being Selections from the prose Works of eminent Writers from the Time of Pericles to the present Day. With Indexes. By S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE. 8° pp. 555. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

*Memoir of Henry Armitt Brown,* Together with four historical Orations. Edited by J. M. HOPPIN. 12° pp. 395. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

*American College Fraternities;* A descriptive Analysis of the Society System in the United States, together with a detailed Account of each Fraternity. By WM. RAIMOND BAIRD. 12° pp. 212. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

*The Philosophy of Music.* By WILLIAM POLE. 12° pp. 316. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Company. 1879.

*The Poetical Works of Bayard Taylor.* Household Edition. 12° pp. 341. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

*Miscellanies.* By JOHN DEAN CATON, LL. D. 8° pp. 360. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

*The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer,* To which are appended Works attributed to Chaucer. Edited by ARTHUR GILMAN, M. A. Riverside Edition. 3 Vols. 12° pp. 598; 691; 703. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

*Camps in the Caribbees;* The Adventures of a Naturalist in the Lesser Antilles. By FREDERICK A. OBER. 12° pp. 366. Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: Charles F. Dillingham. 1880.

*Four Months in a Sneak-Box.* A Boat Voyage of 2000 Miles down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and along the Gulf of Mexico. By NATHANIEL H. BISHOP. 12° pp. 322. Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1879.

*A New Latin Dictionary.* Founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon. Edited by E. A. ANDREWS, LL.D. Revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph. D., and CHARLES SHORT, LL. D. 4° pp. 2019. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

*Art in America.* A critical and historical Sketch. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. Illustrated. 8° pp. 214. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

*Tyrol and the Skirt of the Alps.* By GEORGE E. WARING, JR. Illustrated. 8° pp. 171. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

*The Ages Before Moses.* A Series of Lectures on the Book of Genesis. By JOHN MONRO GIBSON, D. D. 12° pp. 258. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company. 1879.

*The Struggle for Law.* By Dr. RUDOLPH VON IHERING. Translated from the fifth German Edition by JOHN J. LALOR. 12° pp. 130. Chicago: Callaghan and Company. 1879.

*Progressive Japan,* A Study of the political and social Needs of the Empire. By GENERAL LÉ GENDRE. 12° pp. 370. New York and Yokohama: C. Lévy; San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company. 1878.

*Roman Days.* From the Swedish of VIKTOR RYDBERG. By ALFRED CORNING CLARK. With a Sketch of Rydberg by Dr. H. A. W. LINDEHN. Authorized Translation. Illustrated. 12° pp. 332. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

*The Telephone, the Microphone and the Phonograph.* By COUNT DU MONCEL. 12° pp. 277. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

*English Men of Letters: Milton.* By MARK PATTISON, B. D. 12° pp. 215. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

*English Men of Letters: Hawthorne.* By HENRY JAMES, JR. 12° pp. 177. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

*Discovery and Conquests of the North-West,* With the History of Chicago. Part II. 8° pp. 146. By RUFUS BLANCHARD. Wheaton, Ill.: R. Blanchard & Company.

*The Second Coming of the Lord; Its Cause, Signs and Effects.* By CHAUNCEY GILES. 12° pp. 264. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

*Notes on Railroad Accidents.* By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR. 12° pp. 280. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

*Selections from the Greek Lyric Poets; With an historical Introduction and explanatory Notes.* By HENRY M. TYLER. 12° pp. 184. Boston: Ginn & Heath. 1879.

*Studies in German Literature.* By BAYARD TAYLOR. With an Introduction by GEORGE H. BOKER. 12° pp. 418. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

*Dramatic Persons and Moods*, With other new Poems. By MRS. S. M. B. PIATT. 12° pp. 96. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

*The Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution*. 1761-1783. By JUSTIN WINSOR. 12° pp. 328. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

*Some Practical Hints on Wood-Engraving*, For the Instruction of Reviewers and the Public. By W. J. LINTON. Square 12° pp. 91. Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1879.

*The Lost Truths of Christianity*. 12° pp. 284. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

*The Iliad of Homer*. Books I, II, III. By ARTHUR SIDGWICK and ROBERT P. KEEP. 16° pp. 203. Boston: John Allyn. 1879.

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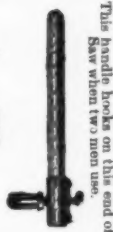
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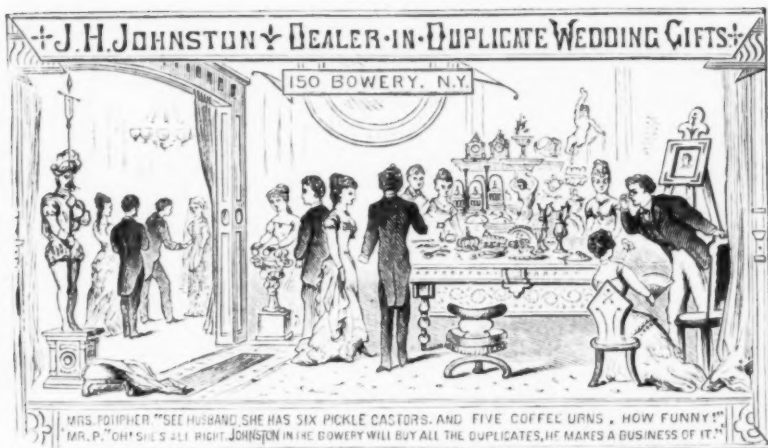
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